The House then adjourned for lunch at twenty-eight minutes past one of the clock.

The House re-assembled after lunch at tewnty-nine minutes past two of the clock.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in The Chair Short Duration Discussion (Contd.)]

The situation arising due to increasing incidents of cross border terrorism and terrorist acts

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI JASWANT SINGH): Sir, I tender my apologies for being late by a minute. Actually, it is not my fault: I thought the house would re-assemble at 2.30.

Sir, I do not believe that this is for the first time that we are debating this issue of terrorism and its many manifestations. If is not an occasion that we delight in. It is also not an issue that we like to raise repeatedly beacuse I have observed that on those occasions the debate on this subject has been a saddening experience.

It is much more saddening than it is illuminating. I, certainly, do not see it here as an occasion for rhetorical duels or even for any variety of demonstration of loquacious skills. Sir, I must state clealy that we share the concern. We intiated this discussion for cautioning, warning and sharing with you what our views are, and also for offering you, what in our understanding are some possible ideas, and the challenge that we face under this term-'terrorism'. Today's subject defines it as cross border or internal variety. It is, of course , the internal variety which quite often is a consequences of the cross border; the international terrorism, and it is also what we are witnessing in the country today an ideological extremism. I will come to the details in a minute. Are we witnessing enhanced discontent in the country? Or, is it a kind of mounting, incipient anarchy? We need to, very clearly, understanding the dimensions and the depth of it also. Then, perhaps, these discussions will serve the purpose that, I believe, Parliamentary discussions ought to serve.

Sir, cross border terrorism that we have witnessed is a fallout and a consequence of the play of interests of external powers in our region.

Sir, I will cite the example of Taliban or even, indeed, of Osama Bin Laden. Terror of Taliban and Osama Bin Laden goes back to the 80's and

the origin, really, lies in the clash of interest of the then two large superpowers, and the employment of Islamic radicalism as a tool by the USA, of an additional assault *via* Pakistan against the occupation of Afghanistan by the then USSR. This is now history. But the consequences of that history we had to put up with for almost the entire succeeding decades since the origins of it. The one in question was, of course, the inflow of arms assistance to Taliban *via* Pakistan.'Arms assistance, in that sense, are those arms, recognising the reality which is an established social norm of the region, which would not go to their intended target and would, inevitably, become objects and items of commerce, and that arms will then spread into narcotics. And, this malevolent energy that had been unleashed would, without any doubt whatsoever, find the soft approaches to sell such arms, to establish narcotics routes as also to spread what we now call terrorism. And we suffered, Sir, and we continue to suffer on account of a variety of that very phenomena, now in myriad of confront because of the degree of proliferation that has taken place. The entire international situation might have altered, but the seed that was sown, a seed of disorder, in the region has now become not just a tree, Sir, but a kind of poison evil that has spread all over the region. This is the reality and this is the reality that I have frequently, regularly shared with them. Then I had a different job, Sir, what I have today, a different responsibility, with those whom I was engaged to address this issue. It was not recognised by the Western Powers when I cautioned them and I did not caution with any ill intent. I cautioned that the evil that has visited India already, believe me, shall visit your soil too, be forewarned. I don't say it as an advisory, I say it as somebody who is engaged already, as a country in this fight; and we pay for it, perhaps, not everyday in terms of lives, but everyday in terms of a spread of disorder, in terms of a spread of uncertainty in the country. It has not delighted me at all to now see how that did eventually come about. What also happened was that Afghanistan and with its extension in Pakistan also, they eventually became a kind of crucibles of terrorism. Where was that to flow, where was that excess malevolent energy to flow? Inevitably to us, and I flowed to us. Are we over to that period, Sir? I don't think so. I don't think so because it has now acquired ideological dimensions which we must honestly, squarely confront because what we earlier witnessed from our Western border is now a very live reality in our Eastern border, too, and I would address this directly to the hon. Home Minister and submit to him that please recognise the reality of

the situation in Bangladesh now. The situation inside Bangladesh I do not have the same access to information that you have I believe is fare worse than we think it is, and is certainly much more unstable than today's Afghanistan or even today's Pakistan. If we neglect it, if we overlook it, we do it at our own peril and we do it despite the lessons of the last near about 25 years of combating terrorism. Sir, I do believe that the answer to this challenge that we have attempted to find in the last quarter century does lie in a perfectly clear awarencess of the problem and an understanding of it. We have to place, I believe, Sir, the security of the land, the security of the citizens of our land, the security of the country over and above the political security of those of us who today inhibit the arena of politics or the political establishment of parties that claim to speak in the name of national heritage. So, there must be not only, or, not simply, a clear understanding of the situation, but thereafter, there must also be a fixity of purpose. How do we address it? You cannot address this menace in the form of traffic lights occasionally to turn 'green' and thereafter, now and then, for reasons that are difficult to understand, turn 'amber' or 'red'. There has to be a fixity of purpose and a relentless pursuit of the aim of the country.

Sir, we cannot attempt, we cannot persist, in a path in which the terrorist is continuously scoring over the citizen. We must recognize that the consequences of what we do, and fail to do, are borne first, and till its last, by the citizen of the country. I believe in it, and that is why, our efforts had taken place earlier with Pakistan and with other countries. We continue to believe in it, and we must continue, purposefully, to constantly expand the constituency of peace. There is, in the sub-continent, Sir, a constitutency of peace; a large, a much larger, number of citizens, believe in abjuring violence, in not subscribing to this kind of extremism. It is that constituency which must be encouraged and expanded.

Sir, I have five or seven examples, illustration, that, with your permission, I shall share with the hon. Members, I had, on an earlier occasion, shared the authentic concern of the hon. Home Minister on an earlier debate in December last. What I believe is a television interview that was conducted. यदि आप इजाज़त दें, वह इंटरव्यू हिन्दी में था, उसमें पी॰डब्ल्यू॰जी॰ पोलिट ब्यूरो के सदस्य और मिलिट्री कमांडर प्रदीप के साथ हमारे डोमेस्टिक टेलीविज़न चैनल ने बातचीत की थी, मैंने कोशिश की थी कि यहां उस बातचीत के ब्यौरे से सदन को अवगत करवाऊं। माननीय मंत्री जी और मेरे बड़े अच्छे मित्र और जो पार्लियामेन्टरी एफेयर्स के बहुत ही कुशल मंत्री हैं, उन्होंने इस पर बहुत आपत्ति

जताई कि जसवन्त सिंह बहुत ग़लत काम कर रहा है, लेकिन उस वक्त यह नहीं हो पाया, इसीलिए मैंने जो औपचारिकताएं होती हैं,

[श्री सभापति पीठासीन हुए]

उन औपचारिकताओं को निभाने की कोशिश की। इस पूरी बातचीत का टेक्स्ट, आपकी इजाज़त से, मैं यहां सदन के पटल पर रखने के लिए तैयार हूं। अच्छा हो अगर आज भी माननीय मंत्री जी इस पर कुछ स्पष्टीकरण दे दें, हमें कुछ बता दें कि यह कहां तक सही है? उसके कुछ अंश मैं यहां पर उद्धत करूंगा, पूरा नहीं, उसमें प्रदीप जी से एक प्रश्न पूछा गया था कि आंध्र प्रदेश की सरकार बदली है, क्या आप बातचीत करेंगे? उन्होंने कहा कि हम क्यों नहीं बातचीत करेंगे। कांग्रेस जो वायदे किये हैं, उनका शुरूआती उल्लेख था। फिर आया कि आप कौन-सी मशीन रखेंगे। उसने कहा कि सरकार ने जंग का ऐलान किया है, इस जंग का विरोध हम भी जंग से करेंगे। युद्ध विराम का क्या मतलब है। क्या सरकार समूची मशीनरी बंद कर दें तो जवाब मिला कि हां, तेलंगाना में ही नहीं, तेलंगाना, आंध्र रॉयल सीमा और उत्तर आंध्र चारों इलाकों में सरकार मशीनरी बंद कर देगी। अभी बहुत चीजें कहीं गई हैं, सभी चीजों को कहने का जरूरत नहीं है। एक-दो वाक्य और एक-दो प्रश्न ऐसे हैं जो बहुत चिंता उत्पन्न करते हैं। आपने राज्य के मुख्य मंत्री को निशाना बनाया है। जवाब में कहते है कि हां, ठीक कह रहे हैं, चन्द्रबाबू नायडु को हमने निशाना बनाया है। चन्द्रबाबू नायडु जब टी.डी.पी. की सरकार में थे, तब भी हमने निशाना बनाए रखा था। आप इस तरह से जो कार्रवाई कर रहे हैं जगह-जगह, क्या इस तरीके में बदलाव आएगा? उनका यह कहना है कि जब तक सरकार नहीं बदलेगी, हम इस तरीके में कोई बदलाव नहीं लाएंगे। आपकी प्रायोरिटी क्या है, हमारी प्रायोरिटी है... (व्यवधान) पूरा वक्तव्य है, सर। मेरी जानकारी है, मुझे विश्वास है कि कुशल गृह मंत्री जी इसको देख चुके हैं, काफी महीने हो गए हैं इस बारे में चर्चा हुए। अच्छा होगा अब भी अगर इस पर माननीय गृह मंत्री जी कुछ कह दें तो ऐसा लगता है कि अनुभव के बाद भी इन सारे उदाहरणों के बाद भी सरकार की ओर से जो परिवर्तन आना चाहिए, विचार में और व्यवहार में, वह आया नहीं है। मैं क्यों कहता हूं, चेयरमैन साहब, कोई हमको इसमें कहने में संतोष नहीं है। अभी हाल में हमको देखने में आया, तेलंगाना राज्य की मांग करने वाले दल के कुछ लोगों ने आपत्तियां प्रगट कीं कि हम सरकार छोड़ देंगे। यह यू.पी.ए. का अंदरुनी मामला है इसको यू.पी.ए. खींचे, ओढ़े, वह उनकी समस्या है। जहां हमारी समस्या, जहां हमारी चिंता बढ़ी, वहां यह हुआ कि मध्य प्रदेश के एक भूतपूर्व मुख्य मंत्री को नियुक्त किया गया। वे वहां गए और माओवादियों को बुलाया गया। उनसे बातचीत हुई और माओवादियों से फिर समझौता हुआ। वही माओवादी जो पहले अपने हथियार लेकर के आए थे, जब हमने कहा कि हथियार लेकर के मत बुलाइए, पूरे भारत में यह हो जाएगा कि जहां कोई हथियार लेकर खड़ा है तो वह कहेगा कि मैं भी हथियार लेकर आऊंगा। वे आए, इस बार फिर एक बयान जारी हुआ। हो सकता है कि मेरे समझने में गलती हो,

मध्य प्रदेश के जो भूतपूर्व मुख्य मंत्री हैं, बहुत समझदार व्यक्ति हैं, कुशल हैं, मैं नहीं समझता कि इस प्रकार की भूल वे करेंगे और अगर मेरी समझ की भूल है तो बहुत अच्छा होगा, गृह मंत्री जी कह दें कि तुम्हारे समझ की भूल है। नहीं तो वहां यह समझौता करते हैं कि आपकी यह फलां मांग है, यह मांग है, तेलंगाना की जो मांग कर रहे हैं वह आपकी मांग मानेंगे अच्छा, फिर कहा कि तेलंगाना वाले आप लोग सरकार में वापिस चले जाएं। यह जो तौर-तरीका है इसकी ज्यादा व्याख्या करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है...(व्यवधान)

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH (Andhra Pradesh) Their purpose has been served. They have colluded with Naxalites and it is now well-established. I still remember the spectacle of the hon. Home Minister negotiating with the Chief Minister of Naxal-infected Andhra Pradesh. The Naxalites with arms were openly wandering in the streets of Hyderabad. They have colluded with the Naxalites. Now, they are going back. They are paying the penalty in Andhra. Not only are they paying penalty in Andhra, but in the entire country. They can go to any level to capture the power. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I leave that subject as it is a matter of concern for us. it worries us. I am sure that concerns and worries the hon. the Home Minister, the UPA, and the ruling party in the State of Andhra Pradesh, as also this arrangement, UPA, here in Delhi.

Let me share some concerns about Manipur. Why do I say this because this again is an example of, I believe, a kind of management or mismanagement of the threat of terrorism which really matters undertanding. I am entirely unable to understand what national purpose is served by permitting Manipur to descend knowingly month after month into this kind of chaos. I believe, Sir, that the State in which Manipur is today, we could well say we are all responsible, yes we are all responsible, but I do believe that the Government of today is much more responsible because there is a very considerable hesitation and sadness attached repeatedly, time over time, there in Manipur, the interests of the Party have been placed over and above the interests of the country. The interests of the Party have overridden the interests of the country repeatedly. There was an earlier occasion when we discussed Manipur. The hon. the Home Minister then shared some views and the course of action adopted. I personally do not have so much experience and knowledge of the region as the hon. Home Minister, I am sure, has, but in different capacities in the service of the country having served in the North-East and Assam,

I was not convinced that the course adopted was the correct one or that a solution will be found. It saddens me, Sir, and it enhances my concerns very greatly that yet again, my apprehensions have been proven correct and Manipur has descended into a kind of ungovernable chaos as never earlier witnessed only bacause the Chief Minister of a particular Party must be preserved in Office at all costs. What is the situation today? On 19th of June, Sir, the NAGA students body, ASAM, some other Non-Governmental Organisations, it is known, at the instigation of the NSEN (I-M), declared an imposed economic blockade. What was the ostensible reason for this blockade? Because on 18th of June, a day earlier, a holiday had been declared in Manipur to honour the 18 people who had been killed in an uprising in Manipur in 2001. That blockade, Sir, has continued since the 19th of June till today, 27th of July. Not only that economic blockade is continuing, there is no statement from nobody in this Government either of concern or of addressing this issue or even of a recognition of the fact that a very serious problem exists in Manipur and we are redressing it. It is not necessary for the Government of the day to come and share views only if they are raised by the Opposition. it is, I believe, the bounden duty of the Government to, every now and then, inform the nation what is happening. it is a very serious concern. I don't want to go into all other details of what is the State in Manipur.

There is a bridge, one vital important bridge. I am sure the hon. Home Minister knows what bridge I am talking of that bridge has been blown away. The two National Highways 39 and 53 have been non-functional and there has been no road communication. We don't know as to what the fate is, we don't know as to what the Government intents to do. To our knowledge, from 19th June to 27th July, no petrol, no ration, no fresh foodstuffs have reached Manipur.

It is necessary that the Government now spell out the stand that they intend to take in this regard. Sir, I will come in a minute to Nagaland. What is happening in Nagaland has the direct linkage here. It will be useful if the hon. Minister spells out the Government's stand with regard to demand of the NSCN (IM) for Greater Nagaland, which proposes to include not just parts of Manipur but also parts of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh, why has this situation arisen, in which direction and where are we now.

So, very briefly, again, on talks on Nagaland, I believe that Assam and the whole of the North-East of India are today in a situation that is of far greater concern, far more dangerous that we face even in Jammu and Kashmir or from our western neighbour or from cross-border terrorism there because the factor of Bangladesh, which has not been addressed in the past one and a half years at all, certainly, is an additional factor that troubles here. So, as far as Nagaland is concerned, what is the current stance of the NSCN (IM) Sir, despite the ceasefire, the military cadres, so called, of the NSCN (IM) are freely moving over what they call 'Nagalim'; it straggles the present Nagaland, parts of Manipur and what I earlier stated, parts of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh also. It is doing so to expand its area of influence and it has actually been given additional designated camps by representatives of the Government, camps that have been taken note of and camps which do exist but which, we are informed, must not be disturbed because the Government does not want them to be disturbed. These camps are safe havens and provide shelter to all kinds of other insurgent groups in Nagaland. I don't want to take the time of the House indeed or labour the patience of the hon. Minister by reading out the names of all of them. But I do wish to share with the House that we must take note that the NSCN (IM) has explicitly stated that they have no ceasefire with any other group expect the Government of India and thus the question of violation of ground rules simply does not arise and they have a writ to attack on the camp of NSCN (K), a rival NSCN group at Suhoto. Suhoto, as the hon. Minister knows, is in Northern Nagaland. These ceasefire agreements are not only to be implimented by the Government of India agencies, but by both the parties, and unless it is done so, NSCN (IM) will not accept it at any time. The ceasefire is applicable to all Naga areas and they do not recognise anybody, any boundary between the States of the Government of India or the international border with Mayanmar. We do want the Government to know that the concept on Nagaland is spreading not just simply over the States of the Indian Union, but it is also spreading across the international border, in Mayanmar too. They have said, Sir, and it disturb me, that the Government of India gave a commitment that the NSCN (IM) can, on their own, deal with the rival group. It is an amazing assertion made by them. They had made it publicly. And, the military wing has issued authority letters to the Manipuri terrorists to take shelter in a Naga territory until further orders. It is a very dangerous trend, Sir, and I have no doubt in my mind that the Government is aware of it. In the face of

this kind of stance of the NSCN (IM), I have herewith me a very detailed analysis which I have done for myself of the ceasefire period in Nagaland, as also what exactly needs to be done. I do wish not only to share my analysis of the ceasefire agreement or ceasefire period in Nagaland, but, I would recommend to the hon. Minister to bear in mind that whenever the Government formulates its policy, firstly, see that what I termed earlier as the constituency of peace has really expanded in Nagaland. That is the most significant aim of the past several years of ceasefire. That aim has to be further solidified because the population of Nagaland, by and large, is for peace and the message to the NSCN(IM) is, "Do what you have to, but peace must prevail at all costs" This is the most reassuring aspect of the assertion of the constituency of peace itself to the insurgent group of NSCN (IM). In another sence, Sir, this is exactly what we are discussing in a diminshed form, in a most diminshed form, in Jammu and Kashmir also. But there, the external aspect of cross-border terrorism comes in and complicates and muddies the water and here again external aspects will come in unless we act fast enough. Sir, I would recommend to the hon. Minister that please get rid of the existing lacuna in the ceasefire agreement. And, if ceasefire is extended, please make it explicit that the ceasefire is only for the State of Nagaland. It has been conveyed in the earlier years, but it needs reiteration to ensure that the NSCN(IM) does not interpret, act or take it otherwise. You must clearly state that the Government of India has not, in the past ot now, permitted any kind of action by NSCN(IM) against rival group. If a firm stand is taken, it is possible that there will be some outburst from the NSCN(IM) group. But the constituency of peace is so strong that, I believe, they will have to honour.

I wish to speak about Assam. I know that there is a separate debate on IMDT Act and also on infiltration. I would not touch that. But because the question of terrorism in Assam is so closely linked with the reality of infiltration, permit me to share just a few thoughts as briefly as I can. Firstly, Assam today, most sadly and regrettably, is a State wilth fractured and endangered identity, cultural and democratic. That is the reality. I had an occasion, a few days back, to read a letter written by late Pt. Jawaharalal Nehru to the first Chief Minister of Assam, Shri Gopinath Bordoloi. It is a letter of 1949. Shri Gopinath Bordoloi was talking in 1949 of the perils of illegal immigration. One of the most clear-sighted, explicit acceptances of that danger is contained in a letter by the first Prime Minister of the country.

It saddens me today when today's Government denies the very existence of illegal immigration. It is a reality. It is a reality that endangers further peace in that State beacause the danger arises from the illegality, multiple illegality. Firstly, the illegality of unauthorised immigration and thereafter, the illegality of the State itself, that is, you and I perpetrating only that illegality only for political advantage; a further illegality when the courts of law, including the highest Court stand up and say, "Halt. Take Note", then we say, "No it must not be taken note of." You can adopt a policy that you wish to; you can pursue the path that you intend to. The price will be paid, as has been paid over those decades, since Partition. Let us recognise what are we dealing with.

Sir, I have two quotes here. One is from late Shri Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. What is that shri Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said? He said, "It will be wrong to think that Kashmir is the only dispute that divides Indian and Pakistan. Undoubtedly, the most significant or at least, nearly as important as Kashmir dispute is that of Assam and some districts of India adjacent to East Pakistan. This is the reality. That is what Shri Zulfikar Ali Bhutto stated as the policy of his country. It is the policy that was pursued when it was West Pakistan and East Pakistan and it is the policy that continues to be pursued when it is Pakistan and Bangladesh. Let me share a quote from late Shri Mujibur Rehman for whom, for whose party, for whose survival and for whose country this land and its soldiers did so much. "East Pakistan, now Bangladesh, must have a significant land for its expansion, and because Assam has abundant forest and mineral resources, coal, petroleum, etc., East Pakistan must include Assam so that East Pakistan is financially and economically strong." I don't have to go any further. The hon. Home Minister know how it is directly linked with terrorism; where from the ULFA finds its shelter; where from the leadership of ULFA continues to find safety from the security forces in India. His Majesty, the King of Bhutan, with great personal courage, on the urging of India and after two deliberations, drove out ULFA from his country. But I have no difficulty in sharing the facts because I had been entrusted the responsibility, and what I share with the House is not a trade secret. When I repeatedly discussed with him the need for Bhutan to be free from this evil and for the camps that camps that existed in Bhutan to be removed, he shared with me an apprelension that what we are dealing with or what is in Bhutan is only the so-caled Northern Command of the ULFA. The Southern Command

of ULFA still sits in Bangladesh. He said, "My fear is that you, in India, will not address that Southern Command, and because you will not address that, even after I have removed ULFA from Bhutan, they will come back to me and they will come back to you. I am sorry that the manner in which you are dealing with that problem very sadly appears to be inadequate." The consequences of permitting illegal immigration are again directly related to terrorism. About 85 per cent of the reserved forest areas of Assam are today illegally occupied by the illegal immigrant from Bangladesh. I don't want to cite the number of terrorist camps that has increased; or, for that matter, the heightened ISI activity; how the Harkat-UL-Mujahideen is now so active in Bangladesh and in the whole of the North-East.

Sir, I wish to share a few thoughts on the recent attack that took place on Ayodhya. What happended in Aydohya is very much a terrorist act. It is as much a challenge to the State of India as any other terrorist act that we have witnessed. It is a matter of great sadness that the occurrence of the incident at Ayodhya has been given an image, a classification, that to speak of the great wrong that has taken place in Ayodhya is to be communilistic. It is a very sad observation. It belittles the concerns of the crores of people of the country. You might not share it; and, I might not share it. But, without doubt, it, certainly, represents the repository of the faith of crores of citizens of our country who subscribes to that faith. Don't belittle it. Recognise that this is as great a challenge to India as, for example, the attack on the Charari-Sharief, the Hazratbal or that wonderful temple in Gujarat. Why are the symbols of faith attacked? It is because the symbols of faith generate a reaction, and the whole purpose is to generate such a reaction that the intent of the terrorist is thereafter served. Do not belittle the concerns of millions and crores that are today centred in Ayodhya. It is not a communal issues. It is very much an issue of national challenge. The attack on Ayodhya is a challenge to some of the Central concerns of the crores of citizens of our country. Please address it in that fashion,

Sir, I have two or three requests which I put across to the hon. Minister, and which I would not call a charter of demands; I will also not call it non-negotiable demands. But I will conclude by appealing to the hon. the Home Minister and the Government, " Please address what I say today in the same manner and the purpose for which I do it". Recognise, Sir, that this country cannot have two separate laws for dealing with the question

of illegal immigration of foreigners. Either have one law like the Foreigners Act throughout the country and address yourself purposefully through the IMDT Act and what the Supreme Court has ruled in that regard. Sir, We request and urge the Government to issue a White Paper on today's situation of illegal immigration in the country. After what the Supreme Court has ruled, it is mandatory, I believe, on the Government to share with the country why they have not immediately acted upon it; what reasons compelled them to take this delay; how the establishing of the Group of Ministers is an answer to it? Let there be a White Paper about the facts of the problem that the Government shares with the citizens. It is a very major problem. Let there also be, Sir, a clear enunciation of the Government's stand by a White Paper on the PWG, the Maoists, the Left extremists' threat that the country faces in—and the leader of the PWG has clearly stated so when he spoke in December last of- the 14 States wherein today they are in a position to dominate. That situation has expanded. There is now a direct linkage. A veil of disorder runs from Nepal, some say, almost to the Western Coast of Karnataka. Let the Government issue a White Paper on the correct situation there and on how the Government intends to address it. I do appeal to the Government to address again the question of POTA. We need a law. If you do not like the name 'POTA', find another name. But do not, for the sake of not doing that which a previous Government has done, deprive India of the tools and the mechanisms that we need to address this menace. We do need, Sir, a National Register of Citizens and a Multipurpose Identity Card for all the citizens of my country. Sir, the choice is very stark. We either have a rule of law, order and peace in the country or we have chaos, disorder or worse. It is upon us to make that choice because we will be judged not by what we say here, but by what we are able to do in service of our country.

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR (Punjab): Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Sir, for giving me the opportunity to speak and respond on a question as vital as terrorism, more paticularly cross-border terrorism with its special focus on Ayodhya . Sir, I have in the last three years of my membership of this House learnt to hear the distinguished Leader of the Opposition with utmost deference and attention. I had hoped that for once, considering the delicacy and the sensitivity of the subject, he would not turn this debate in a rhetorical dual, as he said, "He would not", but regrettably that seems to be the focus of his presentation and much as I would have liked to focus myself

on the core subject. I would, in conclusion, want to take the liberty of responding very briefly to the suggestions and the innuendos in the intervention of the distinguished Leader of the Opposition. Sir, for starters, less the debate is deflected from the core issue, let me draw the attention of this august House to what is at stake here. You were right, Sir, when you said that India needs to expand the constituency of peace, and implicit in that assertion was that if the constituency of peace were to be enlarged, instances of terrorism would decline. I would like to focus my intervention on lifting this debate above a partisan agenda and to focus on the subject as a national agenda.

Sir, it is a matter of great agony for me to accept the reality that we have to contend with terrorism for years to come. It is not going to go away in a hurry and that is what the July attack on Ayodhya demonstrated. What then do we do as a nation? I remember, Sir, that in my maiden intervention three years ago in this House, When my party gave me the opportunity to speak on terrorism in J&K, I concluded by saying that in combating terrorism, a united nation would respond to the call when summoned to the flag.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN(SHRI FALI S.MARIMAN) in the Chair]

I am dissappointed, Sir, three years hence to note that even on a subject as sensitive as terrorism, which seeks to challenge the very way of our life, that seeks to challenge the pluralist and secular credentials of our society and our nation, we still speak in discordant notes. I concede it is difficult for the Leader of the Opposition not to try to score a political point, but I had thought that was precisely what the Leader of the Opposition said he would not do and that we should not do. Sir, I don't want to question the credentials of the distinguished Members of the Opposition, as far as their concern about national integrity is concerned. But, I do want to remind them of the dichotomy between what they say and what they do. Sir, when the Ayodhya attack took place, it was the distinguished Leader of the Opposition, who made an eloquent intervention a few minutes ago, who said and was extensively reported in the Press that this being a security failure, the Home Minister and the Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister must resign. A senior leader of the RSS said that was the clear case of providing lax security for a Hindu shrine. This, Sir, was the demeanour of the intervention or reaction that came from the principal Opposition party

the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Sangh Parivar. Contrast this, Sir, by what the Chairperson of the UPA said. Smt. Sonia Gandhi, in her first statement said that Ayodhya incident was an attack on the national prestige. She said, it was and attack on the conscience of the nation. What did the Prime Minister say? He cancelled his trip to Gujarat and appealed for peace, calm and tranquillity. He said that this was the acid test, and that we as a nation must preserve our internal tranquillity, we as a nation must live up to our ethos, we must asert the secular and pluralist credentials of our society and of our polity. And both the leaders said, it was time to exorcise our polity of the impulses that seek to wreck our internal cohesiveness.

This, Sir, was the focus of how Congress and how the UPA responded. I would have been delighted to hear the same sentiment. But I would implore, even now, that we must all take a national view on terrorism. As has been said and rightly so, the seeds on terrorism today India have, in a sense, their bearings in our neighbourhood. The Leader of the Opposition correctly reminded us that to an extent the reasons for flourishing of terrorism, or their sentiment, is to be traced to some extent in the ideological extremism within the country. Sir, this nation is witness to the parties and their deeds that are responsible for creating that ideological extremism. This is not a time for drawing fault lines along religious lines. This is really not a time for scoring points. This is a time for summoning our energies, our collective energies in the cause of the nation's unity and integrity.

Sir, the Congress party and its leadership has borne brunt of terrorism. It is not too ancient in our contemporary history to recall how late Smt. Indira Gandhi, How late Shri Rajiv Gandhi, and how Sardar Beant Singh fell to the bullets of terrorists. Public memory may be short, but it is not so short. The blood of our martyrs in the cause of the nation's integrity will have its effect and this nation will be able to combat terrorism. But we will have to work together. We have to speak in one voice. And we have to have a national perspective on terrorism.

Sir, there is no scope for divisive emotions. There is no scope for detracting from the issues. Ayodhya and religious sensitivity are sacrosanct on one end. No one is his right mind in our country can be even remotely seen or perceived to be against anyone's religious faith or sensitivity. One is not the lesser of a Hindu if we were to speak the

secular way. One is not the lesser of a Hindu if we were to speak of सर्व धर्म समभाव. And, I may remind the distinguished Members on the other side that our civilisational confidence has given us that wonderful thought that we locate our symbols of religious beliefs and faiths in our doorsteps, in our backyards, in our tanks, in our lakes, in our mosques, in our mandirs. The religious faith owes no apology to a unified resolve. In fact, it demands a unified resolve when it comes to attacks that are essentially terrorist in nature and which it is proved beyond doubt over and over again are intended to inflame communal passions.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Mr. Ashwani Kumar, I do not with to hustle you. You are certainly entitled to time as much as you like, but from your Party there are five speakers and 45 minutes are allotted. You have already exceeded the time if equal time is to be given to each Member.

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR: I will try and conclude.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): If you can.

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR: I have no intention of denying the fact...(*Interruptions*)... Therefore, Sir, I was trying to make a point. I was a bit surprised when in reference to Ayodhya it was stated that the religious sensitivities of the people are being sought to be belittled. Far from it, when we talk of a national resolve to protect the unity and integrity of this country, no one can resonably accuse us of being indifferent to religious sensitivities. In fact, Sir, should we not remind ourselves that it was the impenetrable ring of the security forces that foild the attack? I was surprised when the Leader of the Opposition did not even pay tribute to those members of the CRPF who had great danger to their own lives and showed that the second human bomb was detonated within the precincts of the temple. I thought this would have been an occasion to pay tribute to our security forces and an occasion to recognise that the collective sensitivity of the people of India refuses to be inflamed by dastardly acts such as the one that took place in Ayodhya. It is also a tribute to the collective wisdom of the people of India that no one was inflamed, that the country saw through the game and stood resolute in its attempt to foil further fallout from this dastardly act. Sir, we have spoken about many things. Sir, we have spoken about Manipur, we have spoken about Assam. I am not going into it because the focus of the debate really was Ayodhya

and cross-broder terrorism. Sir, Let continues to be active. We know it and we have to meet the challenge. I would only like to coompliment the hon. Home Minister and the Government for the very purposive steps that have been taken in the last one year to further streamline the security apparatus and the intelligence agencies. I would like to share with this august House just three facts. Sir, in 2004 the number of infiltrators was 507 as against 1315 in 2003, a reduction of 61 per cent. In 2005, Sir, this number was reduced to 92 per cent from 2004 when it was 227, a reduction of 59 per cent in infiltration. Sir, the number of infiltration bids foiled due to alertness of the security forces was 43 in 2004 as against 51 in 2003. It was 19 in 2005 as against 20 in 2004. The number of terrorists killed in bids foiled was 179 in 2003 reduced to 95 in 2004. it was 27 in 2004 and it was 70 in 2005. It, therefore, means, Sir, that the security forces are doing their job. *(Time-bell)*. A word about law, a subject which is dear to me. It was hinted to bring back POTA, bring back something else that would meet the cause of fighting or combating terrorism. Sir, history and contemporary history is, and all of us wellversed wtih law know, the more draconian the law the lesser the chance of combating terrorism. It is true that you cannot allow yourselves to become a soft State. But it is equally true that a dreaconian legal measure is conterproductive. Now in the new Act, the Unlawful Activities Act, we have retained the rigors, necessary rigors of POTA and yet introduced certain beingn provisions lest it be said that it was States-ponsored terrorism through the legitimacy of a legal process that incited terrorism. Sir, in conclusion, the final word, I implore the principal Opposition Party that please, at least, as far as terrorism is concerned, rise to the occasion, treat this as a national challenge and not attempt to score political points. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI BALBIR K. PUNJ (Uttar Pradesh): Just one clarification. The hon. Member has beautifully put his views on terrorism. He has quoted figures of infiltration. Now, do the figures concern the Eastern border or the Western border or both the borders?

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR: You come here, I will tell you.

THE VICE-CHARMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): He doesn't want to mention it here.

SHRI BALBIR K. PUNJ: This sort of infiltration takes place from Bangladesh everyday. Do we take it that infiltration from Bangladesh side is acceptable? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR: I will tell you. You don't waste other's time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. Today we are discussing a very serious issue which is related to terrorism. We have the experience of this menace for nearly two decades and there were much bloodshed and loss of human lives. The country lost two of its Prime Ministers in terrorist action. Thousands of innocent people fell prey to the terrorist actions in various parts of this country. Sir, this has happened in North-East and in Kashmir we had the bitter experience. In Punjab, we had the bad experience of the days of militancy. Naturally, this country has the bitter experience of loss of human life and the valuable wealth of this country. We have to stop this menace. Sir, terrorism is not emerging just like a tree emerging from the earth. No. There are some reasons for terrorism. We must take note of that. All over the world, a war against terrorism was going on. With regard to war against terrorism, recently I have seen that even those who are leading this war against terrorism, who are the perpetrators of terrorism, the US imperialism and forces of US are also changing their attitude. Recently, the Defence Secretary, Donald H. Rumsfeld and the national senior military officer have spoken. They have changed the work. They are saying that there should be a global struggle against violent extremism rather a global war on terrorism. Now, the concept is changing. We have been hearing for the last two years, immediately after the 11th September attack, continuously in CNN, in international media, this word was there. This word was used. This was used to attack Iraq. Now those perpetrators of war are changing their tune. Now, they are saying that this struggle, the war against terrorism is a struggle. They are saying and we also have to think about it in this august House and this should be discussed more diplomatically, more economically, more politically than militarily. That approach should be there in this country against this menace of terrorism. What is the reason for terrorism? Who are promoting terrorism? What kind of attitude is helpful to enhance terrorism throughout the country? We have to address the root cause and resovle the issue. I would urge upon the Government to take such steps and to come out with concrete proposals to deal with terrorism.

Sir, the hon. Jaswant Singhji has already explained the experiences of different parts of the country. I do not want to go into the details. We have the experience of Jammu and Kashmir. Originally, what was the situation? Immediately, after the new Government came to power, we have started taking some Confidence Building Measures. Then, there was a Cricket Series between India and Pakistan. Thousands of people came from Pakistan to India. We also went there. What was the experience in Mohali? We invited them here. That kind of atmosphere is being created. That means, people from Pakistan and India are developing friendship between the two nations. This is the atmosphere all over the world. People are for having more and more friendship. If you go to Latin America, they are saying that they are for that. If you go to Asia-Pacific, they are saying that they are for friendship. Or, if you look at this Sub-Continent, this kind of atmosphere is emerging. Because of the new economic order which is prevailing throughout the world and the domination of the US and its economy and its ramifications, now there is an attempt from the people of the poorest nations and backward countries to come together to defend their economic sovereignty and political sovereignty. Such an atmosphere should be there. Unfortunately, whenever this kind of friendship is emerging, there will be some terrorist attack. Whenever India and Pakistan start some dialogue, there will be some problem. After the UPA Government came to power, the hon. Pime Minister visited Jammu and Kashmir and there was an attack on the same morning. Nearly, 20,000 people gathered to attend the programme of the Prime Minister.

There was a problem in the North-East. The hon. Home Minister went there, tried to create peaceful atmosphere in the North-East. The thrust is there. But, unfortunately, the situation all over the globe is more and more helpful for the penetrators and pertrators of this menace. We have to look at it very seriously. What is the reason? Are we able to resolve it quickly? Recently, General Musharraf visited Australia and in his speech he said," We have broken profession of Al Qaeda. But, it would take 10 years for 'an ultimate dismantling or ultimate elimination of Al Qaeda from the fave of this region.'" So, the war was over two years ago. But, the pace is very slow. Even Gen. Musharraf is saying that it will take another ten years to eliminate Al Qaeda from this part of the globe. That means the problem is still there. Why? who created this kind of an atmosphere in different parts of the world? Is it a problem pertaining only to India or is it concerning the entire world? Can you treat this as an Indian problem? Can you take this

as an international problem? The US, its interest and their work have a contribution for expansion of terrorism all over the world.

What is the experience of Palestine and that region? I will not go into the details. I will just read two small poems written by Mr. Nizar Aubbani, a Syrian poet:

"I am with terrorism

if it is able to free people

from tyrants and tyranny

if it is able to save man from the cruelty of man

to return the lemon, the olive tree and the bird to the south of Lebanon

and the smile back to Golan."

What is the approach of this global superpower towards this region? This itself is promoting terrorism all over the world?

Similarly, I wish to quote the famous four-line poem, which was widely circulated in Iraq, written by Mr Aljavahiri, a great Iraqi poet:

"I see a horizonlit with blood,

And many a starless night.

A generation comes and another goes,

And the fire keeps burning."

This four-line poem is very much popular in that region. In this very vast Arabian region everyday there is war, everyday there will be an attack and we will see the same kind of terrorism all over the world. There should be a political approach to tackle the issue of terrorism. Otherwise, we will not be able to check it. Not only Afghanistan, take the regions of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan also. What is going on there? There was a working group of India, China and some other countries. But the US is not cooperating with that. We have some doubts about that. I think the hon. Minister should enlighten us what is going on in that region. What would be the impact of the recent developments in Afghanistan and the surrounding areas of the former Soviet Union on our country, especially with regard to spreading terrorism? An explanation on this point is required. *(Time-bell)*

Sir, so far as Ayodhya is concerned, we have some recent experiences. I would not go into the details of those. But it is very unfortunate that the militants reached nearly up to 100 metres of that particular area. I would like to congratulate the forces who stopped them. It was not a simple thing. Earlier, we know what had happened in Akshardham. Nearly 33 civilians had died there. And, whenever there had been similar types of attacks in our country, there had been civilian deaths. But here, there was no civilian casualty and we were able to stop them. But there were some intelligence lapses. If there had been intelligence lapses, what had been the reasons for the same? It was reported in the ....(*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN(SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Mr. Vijayaraghavan, you have to conclude now.

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN: This is a very important issue, Sir, I will take just a couple of minutes. It was reported that there was a move on the part of Lashkar-e-Taiba. Earlier, RDX was also found in that region. They had been active in the surrounding area of Ayodhya. There was information also that the Lashkar-e-Taiba extremists were moving towards Ayodhya. So, why was this intelligence lapse? The hon. Home Minister owes an explanation to the country.

Finally, Sir, what is the attitude of the *Sangh Parivar* towards this issue? They want to politicise it. They have their own problems. *(Time-bell)*

THE VICE- CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Now, you have to finish.

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN: I am just concluding, Sir, (*Interruptions*) A prominent leader of the RSS... (*Interruptions*) He just answered it in a Sanskrit *shloka*, with the words like this: "just like a prostitute changes her clothes and appearance, a politician changes his stands." I don't know who is this politician. (*Interruptions*) I understand there are some problem in the *Sangh Parivar*. (*Interruptions*) They are using the Ayodhya issue to resolve their problems. (*Interruptions*) Sir, I just want to say...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RUDRA NARAYAN PANY (Orissa): He cannot speak all these wrong things...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN: The RSS-BJP sinister attempts to exploit the situation for their political gains, as well as to overcome their

organisation's crisis at the expense of country's unity and integrity, should not be allowed to succeed (*Interruptions*). The Government has to be careful about it. We should not give a chance to communal forces to hijack the situation. The secular character of India has to be protected. Ours is a democratic country. It has a secular value. That should not be destroyed by the *Sangh Parivar*. We should not give a chance to them ...(*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Okay. Now, Dr. Malaisamy.

SHRI SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI (Maharashtra): There should be no justification... (*Interruptions*) Nothing justifies terrorism. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Alright, Mr. Sharad Joshi. I thought you wanted to speak, therefore, I have put your name.

DR. K. MALAISAMY (Tamil Nadu): Thank you, Sir, for your relief and relaxation, I will be as brief as possible without your having to even give a ring.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): I am very reluctant to give a ring. I always ask you to try to finish in time.

DR. K. MALAISAMY: Coming straight to the topic, I would like to say that terrorism is all powerful. It can afford to penetrate any part of the world, whether it is the USA or the UK or India or Egypt. Without any discrimination, it can afford to get into any part of the world with a perfect coordination and effect. Whether a State is advanced or all-powerful or developed, terrorism has no discrimination. All these powerful States are helpless against terrorism. As such, terrorism is all-powerful, and every State and every part of the world is vulnerable to it. Sir, in India, day-in and day-out, we come across numerous instances of terrorist activities and attacks, with the result, our entire sovereignty, internal security and polity of our nation are at stake. This is the reality of the situation.

Our Home Minister is very well-informed, very mature, and very competent. Whenever a grave, major or gigantic terrorist activity takes place in any part of the country, he is able to air-dash, get an on-the-spot study done on it, and come out with all necessary measures. But our worry is whether this is enough, and whether we can afford to allow this kind of terrorism to take its own abnormal course. And, what is going to be

the remedy at our hand? We are more concerned about this. Sir, it is a happy coincidence that, today, during the Question Hour there were 20 questions, and out of them 9 questions were relating to hon. Home Minister. Out of 9 questions, 6 were relating to terrorist and terrorist attacks. I am trying to highlight here that even on a single day, as far as terrorism is concerned, out entire House is interested in putting questions, to know things and elicit information.

Sir, instead of going into the various causes and dimensions, etc., I would like to remind the famous couplet of Thirukural—"Noi Nadi, noi mudal nadi, noi thanikkum vai nadi, vaippakkulal." It means, if one wants to really control, contain, and solve a problem, one should know the root cause of the problem. I would like to know from the well-informed Home Minister whether a thorough analysis of this situation has taken place; whether we have really applied our mind very seriously, and whether due priority and seriousness have been given to it. Sir, you are able to nicely explain to us the background, the implications and how you have done it etc. Your word power and your vocabulary may try to convince us that you are fully seized of the situation. But the fact remains that terrorism persists. Sir, in your interview, in your Press releases, in your information, you are able to say that terrorist activities are all abating; and mitigating the serious situation. We are very happy to hear, and it is gratifying to note that. But, I would like to know whether it is enough. That is my question. As far as I am concerned. I would like to know whether you are going to give top priority and seriousness to this issue. If your answer is 'yes', then, I would like to put the next question, whether the UPA Government has got the political will or guts to do that. Suppose, you say, 'yes, we have got the political will,' then, I would like to put the next question whether you have got the real skill to do that and whether you have been empowered to execute by way of your skill, whether you have any constraints, and whether your UPA partners are wholeheartedly with you or not. I do not know your compulsions. I do not know your constraints. I will quote illustration here. There are so many States in India, can claim that Tamil Nadu is free from all this menace of terrorism. How? the political will is there. The political skill is there. That is why our Chief Minister is able to control and contain...(*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): What about the LTTE?

DR. K. MALAISAMY: You can add your... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): No, No: don't answer him. Please carry on. It will only eat into your time.

DR. K. MALAISAMY: Sir, the adjoining Sri Lankan LTTE is there. But were they able to raise their ugly heads in Tamil Nadu? Not at all. Let them try. Why couldn't they do that? They will never do because a very strong administration is there in the State and a very strong political will is there to deal with those elements. Sir, I am not quoting this out of context. On the other hand, you have got a political will. We know you mind. If that be the case, let us be in political action. Sir, as far as this aspect is concerned, I have got one more reservation on the point of terrorism. Sir, you told us that the Naxalites, the militants and the terrorists who have surrendered before the authority, you have got the process of reforming those people and rehabilitating those people. We are told that those people have been recruited in the Border Security Force (BSF). I would like to ask from the hon. Minister whether it is sane, whether it is sensible, whether it is wise enough to recruit a Naxalite, to recruit a terrorist in our Border Security Force. Will they not continue to keep their linkage with their old friends? Should we take that kind of risk? Sir, I would just like to tell you that your philosophy of rehabilitation and reformation is well taken. But, for that, should we go to the extent of recruiting those elements in our Border Security Force? This is my question, Sir.

4.00 P.M.

Now, I come to the most important aspect, that is, POTA. POTA is a very important legislation, which was rightly enacted. Unfortunately, whether it is the NDA Government or the UPA Government, they have, now, totally withdrawn or watered it down in such a way that there is no Act at all. Sir, it may be a fact that POTA had been misused. Does it mean that an Act if misused, should be scrapped once and for all? Sir, being a legal luminary, you will be knowing that if there is any misuse of any legislation, any enactment, there are umpteen number of administrative measures and other measures to control it or to implement it effectively. Instead, they have scrapped it. Sir, terrorism cannot be controlled by our ordinary laws. We need a law like POTA. With these few words, I conclude. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Shri C. Ramachandraiah, you have five minutes.

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: Sir, this particular subject has been discussed umpteen number of times in this august House. And, successively the Home Ministers have been assuring the nation, but, inspite of that, these incidents do recur. Recently, we have seen the Ayodhya incident. Sir, for every terrorist activity, local problems will be there, local reasons are there, be it Jammu and Kashmir, be it Punjab, be it Manipur or Nagaland. But, as my friend has suggested, its genesis has to be unearthed. Terrorism has now assumed international proportions. It has become an international phenomenon. It do not see any political objective of this international phenomenon. It has got so many facets and it has penetrated into various walks of life. There is not a single place which is exempt from it. So, this has to be taken in the proper perspective. Every Member is saying that with a united resolve, we should solve it. That is very good, but who is preventing you? What are the constraints the administrators are facing in solving this menace which is perpetually eroding the confidence in the democracy, rule of law and the administration?

Sir, it is a very basic problem. I had the privilege of participating in the debates on this subject on three occasions in this august House. Sir, when Shri Jaswant Singh was the Foreign Minister and there were attacks and intrusions in Jammu and Kashmir from Pakistan side, I told him, "See, Pakistan is being assisted by the United States and we have been claiming that we are developing our relations with the US, so why don't you negotiate with the United States so that it stops financing the Pakistan which, in turn, is financing the ISI, which is instrumental in all the terrorist problems which our nation is facing?" Sir, the reply I got was, "Our country is so strong that we don't need the help of any country to solve this problem." But, I don't think the country has become weak now. It has grown much higher, Sensex is going up, the GDP growth rate is going up, and the country has become very strong in that way, but in tackling the terrorist problem, in my opinion, we have become very weak. Sir, this is a very serious problem which has to be tackled. Pakistan, in my opinion, is a stalwart ally of the US and intruders are coming in Jammu and Kashmir from Pakistan side. Who is preventing it? We are claiming that 'we have got excellent relations with Pakistan'. President Musharraf has gone on record saying that 'no terrorist activity be allowed to be operated from

my side'. But who is preventing it? Why is it not happening? Why are you unable to ask Musharraf to keep his commitment? The sorry state of affairs is, we know who are the culprits of the attack in Ayodhya. Sir, within a couple of days of London Blasts, the Government there came to know who were the culprits. They have published their names, etc., with photos. But till today, I am sorry—if I am wrong, the Minister can correct me — the Government has not told the nation that these are the culprits. What is the reason of it? What is the constraining factor in revealing it? We are not in a position to summon the concerned country's High Commissioner or the Ambassador and lodge a protest. Are we so weak? The apprehension might be that the normalisation process may be hampered. What sort of normalisation we are going to achieve when every day hundreds of people are being murdered by the terrorists and when there are senseless killings without any objective? Sir, the entire nation has to be taken into confidence. Everybody says that 'we are trying to resolve it.' I don't think any united effort is being put forth in this direction, and every party in power says, 'don't take political advantage of it.' This is the advice they would give to the Opposition. Every party in power says, "Don't politicise it."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Mr. Ramachandraiah, it would be better if you can conveniently finish your speech.

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: Sir, I will be flexible with your advice. Sir, just know the hon. Leader of Opposition has mentioned what happened in Andhra Pradesh. To get into power in a particular State — after all there are 28 States in this country — you have gone to the level of colluding with the Naxalites. Tell me, what is the advantage that you have you got? And, what is the disadvantage? But you have done a great harm to the nation by colluding with the Naxalites. It was a pathetic scene. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Even Congressmen were also killed. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Please let him speak.

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: You see, you come from a remote part of the country. You don't know anything and you will intervene in everything. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): All right, please don't answer. There is no point in it. ...(*Interruptions*)... Mr. Ramachandraiah, kindly finish. We have to go through the whole list of speakers. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, even Congressmen were killed by the Naxalites there. It was perpetrated by the ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: Sir, we went as a delegation to make a representation to the hon. Home Minister.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Don't answer him. You put your point. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: That is what I am saying. Sir, unless I explain it, the gravity of the situation cannot be explained. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Don't bother about what he is saying. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, why is he distorting the facts?

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: When hon. Minister came to Hyderabad to attend a meeting of the Chief Ministers of the Naxalite-infected States, we went to meet him as a delegation, the Members of Parliament of the Telugu Desam Party. Sir, I still remember those scenes—Naxalites with arms going around the streets of Hyderabad city. That is the state of affairs you have created, and now, you are trying to repent over it. You have been doing things as per political convenience and now, you advise others not to take political advantage out of it. What for are you doing this? It has become a fashion to advise the Opposition in a different way while adopting the same when you are in the Opposition.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): You may put any other points that you may have.

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: So, what I am trying to say is, be sincere. I read in the newspapers that Shrimati Sonia Gandhi has said

that the issue should not be politicized. What politics are you playing by not revealing the details of the culprits in the Ayodhya matter? I am not trying to take advantage of anything? Who has prevented you? What type of normalisation are you going to achieve? What type of relations have you developed with the United States? Now, the US is the worst victim; Britain is the worst victim. Who has been giving protection to the terrorists in this country? The terrorists, who have been playing havoc in this country, were once given protection; now, they are the sufferers. So, let us be united and take advantage of the situation and try to control it. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Maulana Obaidullah Khan, you have about four to five minutes. Please, try to put your points in a capsule form.

मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आज़मी (मध्य प्रदेश): शुक्रिया मि॰ वाईस चेयरमैन सर, अयोध्या पर आतंकवादी हमला और पूरी दुनिया में इसका फैलता हुआ साया, यह हमारे लिए बहुत ही चिंता का विषय है और जिस पर बार-बार हमारी पार्लियामेंट में बहस होती रहती है, उसके नताइज निकालने की कोशिश की जाती है, इन हालात पर कैसे काबू पाया जाए और मुल्क में अमन और अमान को किस तरह बहाल रखा जाए। बात आतंकवाद की हो या किसी और मसले की, जब तक हम इस मसले के पैदा होने की वजूहात तक नहीं पहुंचेंगे, सिर्फ बातें होती रहेंगी और नतीजा कुछ नहीं निकलेगा। सर, इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि आतंकवाद एक निहायत ही काबिले मुज़म्मत फेल है, जिसकी जितनी भी निंदा की जाए कम है, बल्कि मैं तो यह कहता हूं कि यह इंसानियत के लिए एक नासूर है, कैंसर है और इसे हर तरह से खत्म करना सेहतमंद इंसानियत की दलील होगी। मगर इस आतंकवाद के खिलाफ अक्सर-ओ-पेश्तर देखने को यह मिला है कि एक किस्म के आतंकवाद की निंदा तो की जाती है और दूसरे किस्म के आतंकवाद की निंदा से आंखें मूंद ली जाती हैं और चेहरा फेर लिया जाता है। आतंकवादियों के साथ या आतंकवाद के साथ चाहे वह रियासत का आतंकवाद हो या अवामी आतंकवाद हो, अगर दोनों में से किसी एक के साथ तरफदारी का कोई पहलू पैदा किया जाएगा तो यह आतंकवाद के खात्मे की दलील नहीं बनेगा, बल्कि आतंकवाद को और ज्यादा बढ़ावा देगा। अगर दुनिया की एक ताकतवर हुकूमत दुनिया के उन मुल्कों पर हमला करती है, जिन मुल्कों पर हमला करने के लिए उसके पास कोई जवाज नहीं है, कोई दलील नहीं है, उन मुल्कों के मफादात को कुरबान करने के लिए, उन मुल्कों की इज्जत को खाक में मिलाने के लिए, अगर किसी हुकूमत की तरफ से हमला होता है और उस हमले की निंदा हमला होने के संकेत को देखते हुए पहले से दुनिया के मुमालिक करते हैं, अकवामे मुत्तहिदा तक यूनाइटेड नेशन तक उस हमले के खतरनाक

नतीजे से बाहुबली देश को आगाह करते हैं कि इस हमले से टेरोरिज्म पैदा होगा, इस हमले के जरिए दुनिया का अमनो-अमान गारत हो जाएगा और यह हमला किसी भी तरह से मुनासिब नहीं है, इसके बावजूद वह देश अपनी मनमानी करते हुए अपनी ताकत की बुनियाद पर, अपने एटम बम की बुनियाद पर, मैं साफ तौर पर अमेरिका का नाम लेना चाहता हूं, एक ऐसे मुल्क पर हमला करता है जिस मुल्क से आतंकवाद के खतरनाक जरासीम हमने कभी नहीं देखे, मैं उस मुल्क का नाम इराक की शक्ल में लेना चाहता हूं। सारी दुनिया चिंतित हुई कि अमेरिका के इस गासिबाना हमले की वजह से आतंकवाद का स्वरूप और ज्यादा बढ़ जायेगा और लोगों के जो हक-हुकूक मारे जा रहे हैं, नतीजे में जब उन्हें इन्साफ नहीं मिलेगा, तो नतीजे में वे हर तरह की आतंकवादी गतिविधियों में शामिल हो जायेंगे। ये तमाम तरकीबें अमेरिका को समझाने के बावजूद अमेरिका नहीं माना और उसने इराक की जो हालत कर दी है और आज नतीजे में जो सुसाइड बम मुसलसल निकल रहे हैं और आतंकवाद की लहरें पैदा हो रही हैं, उसकी मुज़म्मत की जा रही है और की भी जानी चाहिए। आतंकवाद कहीं से भी निकले उसकी निंदा की जानी चाहिए। मगर सवाल यह है कि इन आतंकवादियों को जन्मा कौन रहा है? इन आतंकवादियों को पनपा कौन रहा है? चाहे अयोध्या में हमला हो, चाहे चरारे-शरीफ में हमला हो, चाहे गुजरात में हमला हो, ईमानदारी की बात कहने के लिए दुनिया तैयार नहीं है, अगर इस तरह की ताकतवर हुकूमतों के खिलाफ़ उनके आतंकवादी हमलों और उनकी आतंकवादी ख्वाहिशात के खिलाफ दुनिया ने आवाज नहीं उठाई तो आतंकवाद के खिलाफ काबू पाना बहुत मुश्किल हो जायेगा और जब तक आतंकवाद पर काबू नहीं पाया जायेगा तब तक दुनिया का अमनो-अमान वापिस नहीं आ सकता।

मैं एक बात और अर्ज़ करना चाहूंगा। 1947 में हिन्दुस्तान आजाद हुआ और 1948 में इजरायल की स्थापना हुई। आज जो लोग अपने मुल्क की आजादी के लिए लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं, उन्हें तो आतंकवादी कहा जा रहा है और जिन लोगों ने उनके मुल्क और जमीन पर कब्जा कर लिया है, उनकी दादागिरी के सामने दुनिया घुटना टेके हुए अमेरिका की चापलूसी में लगी हुई है, इस तरह की चापलूसी से आतंकवाद का खात्मा नहीं होगा। आतंकवाद के खिलाफ चाहे वह रियासत और हुकूमत का आतंकवाद हो, चाहे वह आवाम के दिलो-दिमाग से निकलने और पैदा होने वाला आतंकवाद हो, दोनों आतंकवाद की जमकर निंदा करनी होगी और दोनों तरह के आतंकवाद के खिलाफ खुलकर बोलना होगा और खुलकर मैदाने-अमल में आना होगा, तभी हम इस आतंकवाद पर किसी तरह से काबू करने की उम्मीद कर सकते हैं, वरना जिसकी लाठी उसकी भैंस, इस कानून पर अमल होता रहा, तो शायद हम कानून बनाते रहें, आतंकवाद के खिलाफ पार्लियामेंट में तकरीरें करते रहें, मगर हमारी गुफ्तगू का कोई असर इस दुनिया के उन शरारती जेहनों पर नहीं पड़ेगा, जो शरारती जेहन हमारी फिक्र को तबाह करने के लिए हर तरह के नित नये हथियार का इस्तेमाल करते

हैं। मैं अपनी हुकूमत से गुजारिश करूंगा कि हमारी हुकूमत में जहां-जहां भी आतंकवाद फैला है, उस आतंकवाद के खिलाफ हमेशा एक मुअस्सर लड़ाई लड़ी है और कभी भी आतंकवादी स्वरूप को बर्दाश्त नहीं किया है। यह हमारी हुकूमत की बात नहीं है, हमारे देश की बात है। हमारी हुकूमत उसी देश की पक्षधर और उसी देश की तर्ज़मान है, मैं हुकूमत-ए-हिंद से कहना चाहूंगा कि आप खुल्लम-खुल्ला तरीके से आतंकवाद फैलाने वाले उन बाहुबली देशों के खिलाफ भी प्रस्ताव ले आयें जो आतंकवाद को फैलाने का रास्ता पैदा करते हैं और अपने यहां आतंकवाद की मंडी फैलाये हुये हैं, उसका खात्मा होना बहुत जरूरी है। थैंक्यु, शुक्रिया।

†[مولانا عبیداللہ خان اعظمی ''مدھیہ پردیش'' : شکریہ مسٹر وائس چیئرمین سر، ایودھیا پر آتنک وادی حملہ اور پوری دنیا میں اس کا پھیلتا ہوا سایہ، یہ ہمارے لئے بہت ہی چنتا کا وشئے ہے اور جس پر بار بار ہماری پارلیمنٹ میں بحث ہوتی رہتی ہے اس کے نتائج نکالنے کی کوشش کی جاتی ہے، ان حالات پر کیسے قابو پایا جائے اور ملک میں امن وامان کو کس طرح بحال رکھا جائے۔ بات آتنک واد کی ہو یا کسی اور مسئلے کی جب تک ہم اس مسئلے کے پیدا ہونے کی وجوہات تک نہیں پہنچیں گے صرف باتیں ہوتی رہیں گی اور نتیجہ کچھ بھی نہیں نکلے گا۔

سر، اس میں کوئی شک نہیں ہے کہ آتنک واد ایک نہایت ہی قابل مذمت فعل ہے جس کی جتنی بھی بندا کی جائے کم ہے، بلکہ میں تو یہ کہتا ہوں کہ یہ انسانیت کے لئے ایک ناسور ہے، کینسر ہے اور اسے اگر طرح سے ختم کرنا صحت مند انسانیت کی دلیل ہوگی۔ مگر اس آتنک واد کے خلاف اکثر و بیشتر دیکھنے کو یہ ملا ہے کہ ایک قسم کے آتنک واد کی بندا تو کی جاتی ہے اور دوسرے قسم کے آتنک واد کی بندا سے آنکھیں موند لی جاتی ہیں اور چہرہ پھیر لیا جاتا ہے۔ آتنک وادیوں کے ساتھ یا آتنک واد کے ساتھ چاہے وہ ریاست کا آتنک واد ہو یا عوامی آتنک واد ہو، اگر دونوں میں سے کسی ایک کے ساتھ طرفداری کا کوئی پہلو پیدا کیا جائے گا تو یہ آتنک واد کے خاتمے کی دلیل نہیں بنے گا بلکہ آتنک واد کو اور زیادہ بڑھاوا دے گا۔ اگر دنیا کی ایک طاقتور حکومت دنیا کے ان ملکوں پر حملہ کرتی ہے جن ملکوں پر حملہ کرنے کے لئے اس کے پاس کوئی جواز نہیں، کوئی دلیل نہیں ہے، ان ملکوں کے مفادات کو قربان کرنے کے لئے، ان ملکوں کی عزت کو خاک میں ملانے کے لئے اگر کسی حکومت کی طرف سے حملہ ہوتا ہے اور اس حملے کی بندا حملہ ہونے کے سنکیت کو دیکھتے ہوئے پہلے سے دنیا کے ممالک کرتے ہیں، اقوام متحدہ تک، یونائیٹڈ نیشن تک اس حملے کے خطرناک نتیجے سے بہو بلی دیش کو آگاہ کرتے ہیں

†[ ] Transliteration in Urdu Script.

کہ اس حملے سے ٹیرورزم پیدا ہوگا، اس حملے کے ذریعے دنیا کا امن وامان غارت ہو جائے گا اور یہ حملہ کسی بھی طرح سے مناسب نہیں ہے، اس کے باوجود وہ دیش اپنی من مانی کرتے ہوئے اپنی طاقت کی بنیاد پر، اپنے ایٹم بم کی بنیاد پر، میں صاف طور پر امریکہ کا نام لینا چاہتا ہوں، ایک ایسے ملک پر حملہ کرتا ہے جس ملک سے آتنک واد کے خطرناک جراثیم ہم نے کبھی نہیں دیکھے، میں اس ملک کا نام عراق کی شکل میں لینا چاہتا ہوں۔ ساری دنیا چنت ہوئی کہ امریکہ کے اس غاصبانہ حملے کی وجہ سے آتنک واد کا سوروپ اور زیادہ بڑھ جائے گا اور لوگوں کے جو حقوق مارے جا رہے ہیں، نتیجے میں جب انہیں انصاف نہیں ملے گا، تو یہ وہ ہر طرح کے آتنک وادی کارروائیوں میں شامل ہو جائیں گے۔ یہ تمام ترکیبیں امریکہ کو سمجھانے کے باوجود امریکہ نہیں مانا اور اس نے عراق کی جو حالت کر دی ہے اور آج نتیجے میں جو سوسائڈ بم

مسلسل نکل رہے ہیں اور آتنک واد کی لہریں پیدا ہو رہی ہیں، اس کی مذمت کی جا رہی ہے اور کی بھی جانی چاہئے۔ آتنک واد کہیں سے بھی نکلے اس کی نندا کی جانی چاہئے، لیکن میرا سوال یہ ہے کہ ان آتنک وادیوں کو جنما کون رہا ہے؟ ان ان آتنک وادیوں کو پنپا کون رہا ہے؟ چاہے ایودھیا میں حملہ ہو، چاہے چرار شریف میں حملہ ہو، چاہے گجرات میں حملہ ہو،

ایمانداری کی بات کہنے کے لئے دنیا تیار نہیں ہے، اگر اس طرح کی طاقتور حکومتوں کے خلاف اُن کے آتنک وادی حملوں اور ان کی آتنک وادی خواہشات کے خلاف دنیا نے آواز نہیں اٹھائی تو آتنک واد کے خلاف آواز اٹھانا بہت مشکل ہو جائے گا اور جب تک آتنک واد پر قابو نہیں پایا جائے گا تب تک دنیا کا امن وامان واپس نہیں آ سکتا۔

میں ایک بات اور عرض کرنا چاہوں گا۔ ۱۹۴۷ء میں ہندوستان آزاد ہوا اور ۱۹۴۸ء میں اسرائیل کی اِستھاپنا ہوئی۔ آج جو لوگ اپنے ملک کی آزادی کے لئے لڑائی لڑ رہے ہیں، انہیں تو آتنک وادی کہا جا رہا ہے اور جن لوگوں نے ان کے ملک اور زمین پر قبضہ کر لیا ہے، اُن کی داداگیری کے سامنے دنیا گھٹنے ٹیکے ہوئے امریکہ کی چاپلوسی میں لگی ہوئی ہے،

اس طرح کی چاپلوسی سے آتنک واد کا خاتمہ نہیں ہوگا۔ آتنک واد کے خلاف چاہے وہ ریاست اور حکومت کا آتنک واد ہو، چاہے وہ عوام کے دل ودماغ سے نکلنے اور پیدا ہونے والا آتنک واد ہو، دونوں آتنک وادی جم کر نندا کرنی ہوگی اور دونوں

†[ ] Transliteration in Urdu Script.

طرح کے آتنک واد کے خلاف کھل کر بولنا ہوگا اور کھل کر میدان عمل میں آنا ہوگا، تبھی ہم اس آتنک واد پر کسی طرح سے قابو پانے کی امید کر سکتے ہیں، ورنہ جس کی لاٹھی اس کی بھینس، اس قانون پر عمل ہوتا رہا، تو شاید ہم قانون بناتے رہیں، آتنک واد کے خلاف پارلیمنٹ میں تقریریں کرتے رہیں، مگر ہماری گفتگو کا کوئی اثر اس دنیا کے ان شرارتی ذہنوں پر نہیں پڑے گا، وہ شرارتی ذہن ہماری فکر کو تباہ کرنے کے لئے ہر طرح کے نت نئے ہتھیار کا استعمال کرتے ہیں۔ میں اپنی حکومت سے گزارش کروں گا کہ ہماری حکومت جہاں جہاں بھی آتنک واد پھیلا ہے، اس آتنک واد کے خلاف ہمیشہ ایک مؤثر لڑائی لڑی ہے اور کبھی بھی آتنک وادی سوروپ کو برداشت نہیں کیا ہے۔ وہ ہماری حکومت کی بات نہیں ہے، ہمارے دیش کی بات ہے۔ ہماری حکومت اسی دیش کی پکشدھر اور اسی دیش کی ترجمان ہے، میں حکومت سے کہنا چاہوں گا کہ آپ کھلم کھلا طریقے سے آتنک واد پھیلانے والے ان باہوبلی دیشوں کے خلاف بھی پرستاؤ لے آئیں جو آتنک واد کو پھیلانے کا راستہ پیدا کرتے ہیں اور اپنے یہاں آتنک واد کی منڈی پھیلائے ہوئے ہیں، اس کا خاتمہ ہونا بہت ضروری ہے۔ تھینک یو، شکریہ۔

श्री कलराज मिश्र (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, अयोध्या के संदर्भ में सीमापार से आतंकवादी गतिविधियों के बढ़ने के क्रम में मुझे जो बोलने का अवसर दिया है, उसके लिए मैं आपका आभार व्यक्त करता हूं। अयोध्या में जो आतंकवादी घटना हुई है, मान्यवर, इसके पूर्व भी कई बार प्रयत्न किये जा चुके थे। एक बार तो हनुमानगढ़ी में एक प्रेशर कूकर में बम रखकर के गये थे, वे पकड़ लिये गये थे। इसी हमले के पूर्व जीप में जाकर हनुमानगढ़ी के पास सारी गतिविधि करते हुए, किस ढंग से रामलला के मंदिर को ध्वस्त किया जाये, इस तरह की बात की जा रही थी, लेकिन जीप में एकाएक विस्फोट हो जाने के कारण वह कामयाब नहीं हो पाया। तीसरा आसपास के इलाके में कुछ आतंकवादी घूम रहे थे, सारा जायजा ले रहे थे, लेकिन लोगों ने पकड़ लिया और मार डाला, यह 2002 की घटना है। यह घटना घटित हुई और हमारे जो मंत्रिगण हैं, अभी हमारे माननीय गृह मंत्री जी बैठे हुए हैं, ये देखने के लिए गए हुये थे, गृह राज्य मंत्री जी ने कहा था कि सुरक्षा में खामी है, इसलिए यह घटना घटित हुई। हमारे मुख्य मंत्री जी ने कहा कि सुरक्षा बड़ी चुस्त थी और महामहिम राज्यपाल महोदय ने कहा कि यह पहले आशंका व्यक्त की गई थी कि अयोध्या में आतंकवादी घटना होगी। ये तीन प्रकार के बयान हैं। इसीलिए इस बयान के कारण संदेह पैदा होता है कि सतर्कता में निश्चित रूप से कमी हुई होगी और यह कमी दिखाई पड़ रही है! जब यह घटना हुई – वहां टावर लगा हुआ है – टावर पर कोई नहीं था,

पीएसी का कोई भी जवान वहां बैठा नहीं था। मान्यवर, वहां बेरिकेटिंग है। जिस तरफ से आतंकवादी आए, उधर कोई सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था वहां थी। पहले बेरिकेटिंग से पहले भी सुरक्षाकर्मी रहा करते थे लेकिन सुरक्षा की कोई व्यवस्था वहां नहीं थी। जहां जीप का विस्फोट हुआ और विस्फोट करके बेरिकेटिंग को तोड़ा गया, उसी पंक्ति में दूसरी तरफ दो-तीन ऐसे पाइप थे, जो बेरिकेटिंग की दृष्टि से लगे थे, वे कमजोर थे, टूटे हुए थे। इसे माननीय गृह मंत्री जी ने संभवतया देखा होगा और अगर नहीं देखा तो मैं चाहूंगा कि देख लेना चाहिए। उसका चूरा भी लाया गया था, डाक्टर जोशी ने उसको जाकर देखा था। यह सुरक्षा की कमी थी। ...(**व्यवधान**)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S.NARIMAN): Let him go on, please.

श्री नन्द किशोर यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश): आतंकवादी गए और तीस मिनट के अंदर पांचों आदमी मार दिए गए। यह कैसे हो गया? ...(व्यवधान)... आप जब सरकार चला रहे थे, तब संसद पर आक्रमण हुआ था। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री कलराज मिश्र : महोदय, मैं तथ्यात्मक घटनाओं के आधार पर बोल रहा हूं, मैं कोई हवाई बात नहीं कह रहा हूं। ये जो फैक्ट्स हैं, इनको आपके सामने रख रहा हूं और अगर ये गलत हों तो आप मुझे बता दीजिए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Don't digress.

श्री कलराज मिश्र : मान्यवर, वहां पारसर के अंदर पुलिस उपाधीक्षक और एक मजिस्ट्रेट नियुक्त हुआ करता था, उस समय ये पद रिक्त थे ये सारी चीजें ऐसी रही हैं और इसके पहले ही, पुलिस के जो सबसे सर्वोच्च अधिकारी थे, उन्होंने कहा था कि वहा पर्याप्त व्यवस्था है और इसलिए सुरक्षा में कुछ कमी कर दी जाए तो कोई हर्ज नहीं है। सुरक्षा में कमी की गयी थी और इतना ही नहीं, बाकी के जिलों के भी पीएसी और पुलिस के जवान वहां थे, उनको विदड्रा कर लिया गया था। ये सारी चीजें ऐसी लगती हैं कि किसी न किसी कारणवश ...(व्यवधान)... क्यों ऐसा किया गया, इसका तथ्यात्मक रूप से देखना पड़ेगा। ऐसा क्यों है, इसकी जांच होनी चाहिए।...(व्यवधान)... मैं सरकार के सामने यह बात रख रहा हूं, गलत हो तो मुझे बता दें, इसमें कोई हर्ज नहीं है, मैं स्वीकार कर लूंगा । गलती को मैं स्वीकार कर लूंगा लेकिन जहां तथ्य हों, उनको स्वीकार करना चाहिए । इतना ही नहीं मान्यवर, ये घुसे कैसे? मान्यवर, मैं यह कह सकता हूं कि अंतर्राष्ट्रीय जेहादी आतंकवादी साजिश का शिकार यह अयोध्या हुआ है। यह अंतर्राष्ट्रीय घटना कहां से हो रही है? इस संबंध में मान्यवर, यह बताना चाहूंगा कि दो मई को पाक अधिकृत कश्मीर में – यह रॉ की खबर है, रॉ की तरफ से खबर दी गयी कि उसमें बकायदा आईएसआई के प्रधान, अहसान-उल-हक के साथ एक बैठक हुई जिसमें इब्राहिम दाऊद खान भी थे। उसके बाद घटनाएं घटित होती हैं और उसमें तीन दस्ते भेजे गए जो हमारे गुप्तचर विभाग

की रिपोर्ट है। उन तीन दस्तों में दो दस्ते तो मारे गए, जो गए थे, एक राष्ट्रीय सेना अकादमी में उनकी बिल्डिंग को उड़ाने के लिए और दूसरा विप्रो इनफोसिज़ की बिल्डिंग, जो बंगलौर में है, उसे उड़ाने के लिए, लेकिन वे मारे गए। तीसरा दस्ता पाकिस्तान से चला है जो दिल्ली होते हुए, पानीपत से होकर, सारे विस्फोटक पदार्थ लेकर आए और सुल्तानपुर जो, उत्तर प्रदेश में फैजाबाद के नजदीक है, वहां कुछ दिन रहे, ठेले पर काम किया, यह सारी गुप्तचर विभाग की सूचना है। इतना ही नहीं, फैजाबाद में भी ये रहे, अकबरपुर में गए। बताया जाता है कि नेपाल में भी गए थे। नेपाल से आकर किच्छोचा नाम का स्थान अकबरपुर में है, उस किच्छोचा नामक स्थान पर रहे। कई महीनों तक यह गतिविधि दिखती है। इसी गतिविधि के बारे में गुप्तचर विभाग में, जो केन्द्रीय गृह सचिव महोदय का बयान है कि हमने सूचना दे दी थी कि आतंकवादी गतिविधि हो सकती है, वहां कुछ गड़बड़ हो सकती है, यह सूचना आयी होगी लेकिन राज्य सरकार का कहना है कि यह सूचना हमें प्राप्त नहीं हुई। दोनों में समन्वय का अभाव है। अगर केन्द्रीय सरकार को यह जानकारी थी तो केन्द्रीय सरकार ने इसकी मॉनिटरिंग क्यों नहीं की क्योंकि केन्द्रीय सरकार की भी अपनी जिम्मेदारी थी? लेकिन इस घटना के तार बाकायदा अंतर्राष्ट्रीय आतंकवादी गतिविधियों से जुड़े हुए हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Kalrajji, sorry to bother you, but your Party has already exhausted the time. You can certainly take a couple of minutes more.

श्री कलराज मिश्र: अगर आपकी आज्ञा हो तो मैं एक मिनट और लूंगा। मान्यवर, यह घटना इस प्रकार से घटित हुई है। इसलिए इसको संपूर्णता में देखने की जरूरत है और संपूर्णता में देखते हुए इसकी बाकायदा जांच हो कि कहां खामी आयी, कहां गलती हुई। केन्द्र सरकार की तरफ से गलती हुई है, प्रदेश सरकार की तरफ से गलती हुई है, इसको लिया जाए। मान्यवर, आतंकवाद के विरुद्ध सभी पार्टियां, पूरा देश एक है। इसमें राजनीति करने का कोई औचित्य नहीं है। अगर हम कोई बात उठाते हैं और उसको कह दिया जाए कि राजनीति कर रहे हैं, तो वह गलत है। इसलिए आतंकवाद से लड़ने के लिए कानून भी बनाना पड़ेगा। इस समय पूरे विश्व में आतंकवादी विचारधारा चल पड़ी है। पहले एक कानून बनाया गया था – पोटा, वह प्रभावी कानून था, उसको खत्म कर दिया गया। मैं चाहूंगा कि आतंकवादी विचारधारा को समाप्त करने की दिशा में प्रयत्न किया जाए। इसके लिए कानून बनाया जाए, भले ही उसे दूसरा नाम दे दिया जाए। ये सारी चीज़ें हैं, इनकी समुचित तौर पर देखभाल होनी चाहिए, इस घटना की जांच होनी चाहिए और तथ्यों को लोगों के सामने प्रस्तुत करना चाहिए, धन्यवाद।

प्रो॰ राम देव भंडारी (बिहार): धन्यवाद, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर चर्चा हो रही है। आतंकवाद एक राष्ट्रीय समस्या है और जब भी इस समस्या पर चर्चा हो, मैं समझता हूं कि हमेशा इसको राष्ट्रीय परिप्रेक्ष्य में ही लेना चाहिए। इस समस्या के साथ न तो पार्टी

लाइन की बात हो, न किसी प्रकार की पोलिटिक्स इसमें शामिल हो, बिल्कुल राष्ट्रीय परिप्रेक्ष्य में इसकी चर्चा होनी चाहिए।

महोदय, पिछले बीस-पच्चीस वर्षों से आतंकवाद की समस्या से यह देश जूझ रहा है। अयोध्या में जो आतंकवादी हमला हुआ, यह देश की कोई पहली घटना नहीं है। हम जिस संसद में अभी बैठे हुए हैं, इस संसद पर भी आतंकवादी हमला हुआ था। हम अपने सुरक्षा बलों के आभारी हैं, देश उनका आभारी है कि उन्होंने अपनी कुर्बानी दी, मगर आतंकवादियों को संसद भवन के अंदर नहीं आने दिया। जम्मू-कश्मीर में आतंकवादी हमले हो रहे हैं, देश के दूसरे भागों में भी हो रहे हैं। अक्षरधाम में हमला हुआ, रघुनाथ मंदिर पर हमला हुआ, चरार-ए-शरीफ पर हमला हुआ। महोदय, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि ये जो आतंकवादी हमले होते हैं, इन आतंकवादियों को न किसी धर्म से, न किसी पंथ से, न किसी सम्प्रदाय से कुछ लेना-देना होता है। यह हमले होते हैं देश कि सिक्योरिटी को तबाह करने के लिए, ये हमले होते हैं देश की स्थिरता को खत्म करने के लिए, देश की शांति और अमन-चैन को खत्म करने के लिए और सबसे बड़ी चीज़ है – देश में जो साम्प्रदायिक सौहार्द और सद्भावना है, उसको खत्म करने के लिए मंदिर पर हमला होता है, मस्जिद पर हमला होता हैं। मंदिर पर हमला होता है, इसके पीछे उसका उद्देश्य बिल्कुल साफ होता है, मंदिर पर हमला हो, तो किसी खास समुदाय के सेंटिमेंट्स को टच करे, उसका रीएक्शन हो। महोदय, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि कट्टरपंथी किसी भी धर्म का हो, वह कट्टरपंथ देश के लिए घातक होता है, देश की जनता के लिए घातक होता है। माननीय विरोधी दल के नेता यशवंत बाबू का मैं सम्मान करता हूं। बहुत विस्तार से उन्होंने नॉर्थ-ईस्ट में जो आतंकवाद की घटनाएं हो रही हैं, उनकी चर्चा की है। अभी माननीय मिश्र जी कह रहे थे कि किस प्रकार अयोध्या में जो हमला हुआ, उसकी साजिश हुई। मैं माननीय मिश्र जी से कहना चाहता हूं कि ये सूचनाएं, जितनी सूचनाएं उन्होंने सदन को दी हैं, वही सूचनाएं यदि उन्होंने केन्द्र सरकार या राज्य सरकार को पहले दी होतीं, तो शायद उतनी दूर तक वह घटना नहीं होती, मगर मैं शुक्रगुज़ार हूं हमारे बहादुर जवानों का। सिक्योरिटी के जो लोग मंदिर परिसर की रक्षा कर रहे थे, मैं उनका शुक्रगुजार हूं, यह देश उनका शुक्रगुजार है कि उन्होंने, आतंकवादियों का जो लक्ष्य था, उनका जो उद्देश्य था, उनकी जो साजिश थी, मकसद था, उसे उन्होंने पूरा नहीं होने दिया और सभी को मारकर धरती पर सुला दिया। महोदय यह जो आतंकवाद इस देश में है, दुनिया के कई देशों में धीरे-धीरे फैल रहा है। अमरीका की बात हो रही थी। जिस दिन अमरीका पर हवाई जहाज से हमला हुआ था, मैं उस दिन अमरीका में वाशिंगटन में था। एक पार्लियामेंटरी कमेटी गई हुई थी। गाड़ियां यहां से वहां भागी जा रही थीं, अफरा-तफरी का माहौल था। अभी लंदन में हमला हुआ। हमारी समस्या कुछ ज्यादा बड़ी है। बीस-पच्चीस वर्षों से इस देश में आतंकवाद का हमला हो रहा है। मेरा विश्वास है कि यू॰पी॰ए॰ की सरकार, इस सरकार की

इच्छाशक्ति बहुत मजबूत है, इसलिए मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं कि प्रधानमंत्री जी जम्मू-कश्मीर गए थे। ऐसी चेतावनी दी गई थी कि अगर प्रधानमंत्री जी जम्मू-कश्मीर आएंगे तो उन पर हमला किया जाएगा। हमला हुआ भी, दूसरी जगह हमला हुआ, मगर इसके बाद भी प्रधानमंत्री जी जम्मू-कश्मीर गए। अयोध्या पर 5 जुलाई को हमला हुआ, 6 जुलाई को हमारे गृह मंत्री जी अयोध्या गए। यह इस बात का प्रमाण है कि यह सरकार मजबूत इच्छाशक्ति से चल रही है और इस समस्या के समाधान के लिए, इस समस्या को सुलझाने के लिए कटिबद्ध है। मैं पुनः दोहराना चाहता हूं कि हमें इस समस्या को राष्ट्रीय परिप्रेक्ष्य में देखना चाहिए। एक कट्टरपंथ का मुकाबला दूसरे कट्टरपंथ से नहीं किया जा सकता है। परंतु इस देश में कई ऐसी संस्थाएं हैं जो हमेशा इस प्रकार की बातें करती हैं। मैं विस्तार में नहीं जाना चाहता, इन लोगों को कभी-कभी राजनीतिक माइलेज मिल जाता है, सरकार बनाने का मौका भी मिलता है, मगर इससे देश का बड़ा भारी नुकसान होता है। महोदय, मुझे पूरी उम्मीद है कि यू॰पी॰ए॰ सरकार के नेतृत्व में, माननीय गृह मंत्री जी के नेतृत्व में इस समस्या का समाधान होगा, निश्चित रूप ये बहुत तेजी से इस समस्या का समाधान होगा। इसी आशा और विश्वास के साथ, मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

कार्मिक, लोक शिकायत और पेंशन मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री तथा संसदीय कार्य मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री सुरेश पचौरी): आपको वहां से भी दाद मिल रही है। ... (व्यवधान)..

प्रो॰ अलका क्षत्रिय (गुजरात): राजस्थान के बारे में क्या ख्याल है आपका ...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Please, please, there is no point in this. Yes, Mr. Chowdhury.

डा॰ प्रभा ठाकुर (राजस्थान): पानी लेने गए थे, मारे गए ...(व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): In America, it is known as crossfire. Please avoid it.

SHRI SHANKAR ROY CHOWDHURY (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, to begin with, I would like to complement the Ministry of Home Affairs, which means the Home Minister. I would like to compliment the Ministry of Home Affairs of the previous Government also because this is an on-going struggle, an on-going combat and every Home Ministry and every Government has been doing its best. We are fortunate to have, notwithstanding the incidents we see on the television, extremely competent agencies both in our police, in our internal security organisations and in our intelligence. The subject of today's discussion is cross border terrorism

and terrorist acts. I do not know whether the choice of word has been by design or by accident, but these are indeed two separate things. Cross border terrorism means people who come across the border, and terrorist acts mean people who are already *in situ.* I think the attack on Ayodhya is a good example of what is the subject of this discussion. So far as the attack on Ayodhya is concerned, the preparation for the attack started off in Mendhar in Jammu and Kashmir. Arms were brought across put in a specially constructed Tata Sumo brought all the way from Mendhar to Panipat. The people who carried out the attack came from Nepal. They stayed in a safe house; married up with the arms and ammunition and then they carried out this attack. That means, people came from across the border and there were people inside the border who could support them. The fight is against the both. What is this situation? Cross border terrorism is coming from the west, that is, the border with Pakistan. The Pakistan border, regardless of what we may say, is reasonably well defended. We have got a fence. Everything is in position. I think the terrorists from Pakistan who are coming across, notwithstanding the incident of Ayodhya, are finding it more and more difficult to get across. Of course, the fencing along the LoC has been damaged due to the recent snowfall. I hope it will be made ready in time. But our gaps are in the east and on the Nepal border. The eastern border is wide open. The Border Security Force, as all of you know, is meant to defend or watch a distance of about 30 to 40 kilometers which is the distance they watch in the western sector. In the eastern sector in West Bengal, Tripura and Assam a single BSF Battalion is covering nearly 70 to 90 kilometers. In Tripura, they are covering 90 kilometres. I think, there were decision taken that they will move the BSF fact to the eastern sector, but that has not taken place yet. Sir, I would, through you, urge the Government and the Minister to give a thought to the eastern sector because the eastern sector is a backdoor which is more or less wide open.

The second is the border with Nepal. It is supposed to be an unfenced border which is not manned because of the special relationship we have with Nepal. But now we have felt the necessity to keep a border guarding force on the Nepal border also. We have given it to the SSB. Now with due respect to the Government and to the Force, this is not a very high grade Force as yet. If you insist on making the SSB guard the border, please see to it that the SSB comes up to the standards of the BSF as soon as

possible because this is a wide open border through which all these incidents are taking place.

Really speaking, there are three types of terrorisms in India, that is, Jehadi terrorism, Naxalite terrorism and North Eastern terrorism based on ethnic groups. To my mind, the biggest threat that is confronting India today is the Naxalite terrorism which is holding the entire centre of India. In this, the biggest weapon is good governance and police reform. This is the most dangerous form of terrorism which is threatening our country and I do think that the Centre's decision that the States will combat Naxalite terrorism on their own is a mistaken decision so far. I do think that there has to be a coordinated activity between the States. In the North East, in Jammu and Kashmir, the lead agency *de factor* became the Army. That is spread across the inter-State borders. So operations could be continuously carried out. But when you are using a police force to contain a particular type of terrorism and you say that it has to be by the States, I think this is not the right method of tackling the Naxalite terrorism. There has to be a certain methodology worked out in the North East. There was a lot of talk that the North Eastern Council should be made responsible at one point of time. But it did not work due to various reasons. The Centre has got to explore ways and means whereby the Naxalite-infested States, namely, the seven in number, could form some sort of a common grid. The Centre must impress upon the States to create a similar organisation that is there in the North-East and in Jammu and Kashmir, that is, a unified headquarter. Here, of course, there will be various elements in it. But, until these States seriously set up organisations like unified headquarters, it will not work. It has been mentioned, time and again, that good governance is the key to tackling the Naxalite activity. All the areas where the Naxalite activities take place are the tribal areas. They are the most under-developed areas in underdeveloped States. Now, how do we go about it? We have a federal structure whereby everything has to go through the States and, I think, the Prime Minister himself is worried about it because the vast amount of resources are going into good governance, but the delivery system at the grassroots level remains the same. So, my suggestion, as always been, is please create Special Development Zones. And, whether the system of governance will be through the States, through the Centre, or the amalgamation of both, these have to be worked out, because unless you get good governance, you will not be able to fight the

Naxalite menace.

As far as police reforms are concerned, it is, of course,easy to say that one must tackle the root-cause of Naxalism or, any other form of terrorism, for that matter. But the projection of the Government in most of these cases is the police force, and the police force has to be reformed not only at the top level, but,critically, it must be reformed at the lowest level, that is at the level of the *Thana.* Today, your police force is discredited because it is not functioning at the level where it comes in contact with the people, and that is, not at the level of the States headquarters, but it is at the level of the *Thana.* Unless you get good, well-trained police force,well-equipped, well-motivated one, working at the *Thana* level, I am afraid that this is not going to work. A mention was made that warnings are conveyed to States. I would just like to say that it is very difficult to convey warnings with any specifics. It cannot say that there will be an attack on Ayodhya on such and such date and at such and such time; it has to be a general term. And, under those warnings, every religious institution and, particularly, the temples, are under threat in this country at any time.

In conclusion, let me say that our people are eminently sensisble. In spite of the various problems that we have got, the aim of these attacks on temples are obviously to weaken the communal harmony. But I think, our people have got enough common sense, enough goodwill. So, in spite of what we say, from time to time, notwithstanding instances which have taken place earlier, I don't think we are going to see any major communal outbreak in this country because, as you say, whether in Jammu and Kashmir or in the North-East, people of India also want peace. Thank you.

डा॰ प्रभा ठाकुर: उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आतंकवाद आज हमारे देश की प्रमुख समस्या है और केवल इस देश की ही नहीं बल्कि आज के दौर में पूरे विश्व के सामने आतंकवाद एक बहुत बड़ी चिंता और चुनौती का विषय बना हुआ है। हाल ही में जिस तरह से, जो विश्व की महान शक्तियां कही जाती हैं, ब्रिटेन में या पहले अमेरिका में या हाल ही में इजिप्ट में बमों के विस्फोट हुए हैं और जिस तरह से मनुष्य को मानव बम के रूप में इस्तेमाल किया जा रहा है, उससे यह दिखाई दे रहा है कि आतंकवाद कितने उग्र रूप में पूरी दुनिया में छाया हुआ है। जब हम आतंकवाद पर बात कर रहे हैं और अयोध्या मंदिर में जिस तरह से अभी आतंकवादियों का हमला हुआ है, मैं यह कहना चाहूंगी विशेष रूप से कि इस चिंता में, इस समस्या में पूरा देश एक साथ है, चाहे पक्ष हो या विपक्ष, सबकी चिंता एक है, सबका स्वर एक है। इसमें कहीं किसी का भी कोई विरोध नहीं है, न ही कोई मतभेद है। महोदय, मैं एक बात कहना चाहूंगी कि इसका

समाधान केवल सेना या पुलिस नहीं है, क्योंकि हाल ही में जिस तरह 5 जुलाई को अयोध्या में आतंकवादियों का हमला हुआ तब 2000 पुलिस के जवान, जो हमारे पी॰ए॰सी॰ और सी॰आर॰पी॰एफ॰ के जवान थे, उनकी मौजूदगी में, उनके घेरे में भी चंद आतंकवादी एक मंदिर के परिसर में प्रवेश करते हैं और हमला करते हैं। यह तो मैं धन्यवाद देना चाहूंगी, उस समय तैनात सी॰ आर॰ पी॰ एफ॰ और पी॰ ए॰ सी॰ के जवानों का, जिन्होंने त्वरित बुद्धि से काम लिया, वरना कोई बहुत बड़ा हादसा हो सकता था। राम लला की मूर्ति को कोई भी क्षति नहीं पहुंची, मंदिर को भी कोई क्षति नहीं पहुंची। इस तरह उन्होंने उस समय मोर्चा संभाल लिया, अन्यथा 2000 सैनिकों के होने बावजूद चन्द आतंकवादियों को प्रवेश इस बात को स्पष्ट करता है कि केवल 2000 सैनिकों के होने से ही सुरक्षा व्यवस्था नहीं हो सकती, इसके लिए इससे आगे बढ़कर सरकार को कुछ और सोचने की जरूरत है, चाहे वह राज्य सरकार हो या फिर वह केन्द्र सरकार हो। चूंकि राज्य सरकार की जिम्मेदारी अधिक बनती है, क्योंकि यह मामला अयोध्या में हुआ था। राज्य सरकार की तरफ से भी पुलिस पर्याप्त मात्रा में वहां पर थी, लेकिन फिर भी आज ऐसे महत्वपूर्ण स्थान चाहे अयोध्या हो, काशी हो, मथुरा हो, ताज महल हो, ये उत्तर प्रदेश में हैं, इसके अलावा चाहे चरारे शरीफ हो, चाहे रघुनाथ मंदिर हो, ऐसे देश के किसी भी राज्य या भाग में जो भी महत्वपूर्ण स्थान हैं, ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से या धार्मिक दृष्टि से, आवश्यकता है कि सरकारें अभी से उनके बारे में सतर्क हो जाएं और पहले से यह निश्चित किया जाए कि उनकी सुरक्षा व्यवस्था इस प्रकार हो कि आगे इस प्रकार की घटनाओं की पुनरावृत्ति न हो सके।

महोदय, जिस तरह सीमा पार से आतंकवाद की बात कही जाती है, हमारे देश की जो सीमाएं हैं, वे कई देशों से मिली हुई हैं, एक ओर पाकिस्तान से, एक ओर चीन से, भूटान से, नेपाल से, बांग्लादेश से, इस प्रकार सीमा पार का आतंकवाद हमारे सामने एक समस्या बना हुआ है, विशेष कर नॉर्थ ईस्ट में एवं कश्मीर में, कश्मीर घाटी में जो परिस्थितियां हैं, वे भी किसी से छिपी हुई नहीं हैं और नॉर्थ ईस्ट में भी।

महोदय, मैं बहुत प्रशंसा करना चाहूंगी इस बात की कि जहां कुछ राजनीतिक दलों ने कोशिश की कि इस मामले को किस प्रकार राजनैतिक रूप दिया जाए, वहां हमारे देश के राष्ट्रपति जी ने पूरे देश का आह्वान किया कि एकजुट होकर आतंकवाद से संघर्ष किया जाए। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने गुजरात दौरा रद्द करे तुरन्त समीक्षा के आदेश दिए और आवश्यक कार्यवाही के निर्देश दिए। हमारी नेता एवं यू॰ पी॰ ए॰ की चेअरपर्सन ने देशवासियों का आह्वान किया और उनसे धैर्य और संयम की अपील करते हुए देश की अनेकता में एकता की जो सांस्कृतिक विरासत है, उसे कायम रखने का आह्वान किया और यही जिम्मेदारी सभी की होती है, चाहे कोई पक्ष में हो या विपक्ष में हो। आज चाहे कोई भी राजनैतिक दल हो, लेकिन कहीं तो एक सीमा होती है। एक कहावत है कि एक घर तो डायन भी छोड़ती है। जब कहीं देश की एकता, एकजुटता और सद्भावना का सवाल आता है, महोदय, उस समय हर

राजनैतिक दल की यह जिम्मेदारी होती है कि वह वही भाषा बोले जिससे कि देश एक रह सके, जिससे कि देश में सद्भावना न टूट सके। महोदय, उस समय भी बी॰ जे॰ पी॰ और वी॰ एच॰ पी॰ के लोगों के आह्वान किया कि पूरे देश में आंदोलन हो, मेरी समझ में यह नहीं आया कि किसके विरुद्ध आन्दोलन हों, (व्यवधान)... जबकि एक विपक्ष का (व्यवधान)... समझ में आपके भी आ रहा है और पूरे देश की जनता के भी आ रहा है और बहुत पहले भी आ चुका है। (व्यवधान)...

महोदय, ये लोग जो राम मंदिर का मुद्दा पहले भूल चुके थे, उन लोगों को भी यह मुद्दा याद आ गया और जिनके लिए राम मंदिर केवल आस्था की जगह नहीं है, वह केवल एक मुद्दा है और मुद्दे के रूप में ही उन्होंने उसको देखने की कोशिश की, लेकिन हमारे लिए तो वह एक आस्था का स्थान है, मुद्दे का स्थान नहीं है और (व्यवधान)... आप ही के बड़े नेताओं ने यह कहा था, मैं उस बात में नहीं जाना चाहती हूं। (व्यवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Please conclude.

डा॰ प्रभा ठाकुर: देखिए, क्योंकि जब यह बात आई है कि जिस तरह राम मंदिर पर आतंकवादी हमला हुआ, उसी हमले से जुड़ी हुई बातों के संदर्भ में मैं यह बात कर रही हूं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Madam, I would request you to please address the Chair, and not the other side.

डा॰ प्रभा ठाकुर: सर, मैं आप ही को एड्रेस कर रही हूं, परन्तु वे बीच-बीच में व्यवधान कर रहे हैं। ...(व्यवधान)

महोदय, चाहे मामला बाबरी मस्जिद का रहा हो या अक्षरधाम का, रघुनाथ मंदिर का रहा हो या चरारे शरीफ का, हम सब इस तरह के आतंकवाद के जो हमले, चाहे वह संसद भवन पर हों, चाहे वह सार्वजनिक स्थानों पर हों, सिनेमा घरों में हों, जहां मासूमों की जानें आती हैं बेगुनाह मारे जाते हैं, चाहे वह सीमा पार से आया हुआ आतंकवाद हो या सीमाओं के भीतर का आतंकवाद हो, हम सब एक स्वर से उसकी निंदा करते हैं, इसे रोकने के सार्थक उपाय किए जा सकें, वे उपाय किए जाने चाहिए ताकि निर्दोषों की जान बच सके और देश में एक सद्भावना का वातावरण कायम रह सके।

महोदय, मैं सरकार से यह कहूंगी कि अगर कहीं कोई चूक रही है तो उसे ठीक किया जाए और देश हित और देश की अंखडता के लिए ऐसे संवेदनशील मामलों का राजनीतिक लाभ उठाने की पार्टियां कोशिश नहीं कर सकें, ऐसा भी किया जाना चाहिए। मैं एक विशेष बात कहना चाहूंगी कि पिछले दिनों 'साफमा' के फोरम में मुझे पाकिस्तान जाने का मौका मिला, एक दल के साथ। उसमें कई सांसद भी साथ थे। मैं पहली बार पाकिस्तान गई थी। महोदय, मैंने वहां जाकर यह महसूस किया कि वहां की जनता में, वहां के अवाम में एक इच्छा है, एक ललक है हिन्दुस्तान के प्रति, भारतीयों के प्रति। वे लोग बार-बार एक सवाल कर रहे थे कि फिर कब आप लोग आएंगे और कब व्यापार के रास्ते खुलेंगे, कब हमारे आने-जाने के रास्ते खुलेंगे, कब

हम लोग एक दूसरे से मिलेंगे, ऐसा हमने उनमें उत्साह देखा, सभी लोगों में उमंग देखी। मैंने यह देखा कि दोनों देशों में चाहे भारत हो या पाकिस्तान, उन दोनों देशों की जो आम जनता है, उनमें आपस में एक सद्भावना की भावना है, वे आपस में मिलना चाहते हैं। इसमें अगर कुछ चन्द लोग निहित स्वार्थों के लिए आतंकवाद के रूप में, क्योंकि जब भी दोस्ती की कोशिश होती है तभी आतंकवादी गतिविधियां उस समय तेज हो जाती हैं। तो महोदय, पहचानने की जरूरत है उन चेहरों को। कहते हैं कि आतंकवादियों के तार तो आतंकवादी संगठनों से मिले रहते हैं, लेकिन आतंकवादी संगठनों के तार किनसे मिले हुए हैं, उनको पहचानने की जरूरत है, उन चेहरों को पहचानने की और उसके मूल में जाकर के उस समस्या के समाधान करने की जरूरत है। मैं यहां खड़े होकर सरकार से अपील करना चाहूंगी और अन्त में यही कहना चाहूंगी कि इस समय हालत यह है तथा जनता की जो भावना है वह यह है कि सभा पड़ोसी देशों में एक सद्भावना का वातावरण बने, ताकि आतंकवाद खत्म हो, खुशहाली हो और मित्रता कायम हो और जो जनता चाह रही है, चाहे इधर की और चाहे पाकिस्तान की और चाहे सभी आसपास के पड़ौसी मुल्कों की, सब का सपना सिर्फ यही है कि—

"ए खुदा खोल द्वार सरहद के, घूम आऊं मैं पार सरहद के,

और प्यार से छूकर देखिए तो जरा, टूट जाएंगे तार सरहद के।"

बस, यही कहना चाहती हूं। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Shri N.K. Premachandran, not present. Prof. Saif-ud-Din Soz.

PROF. SAIF-UD-DIN SOZ (Jammu and Kashmir): Sir, I have to offer Allama Iqbal with Naya Shiwala to this august House. Therefore, I prefer to speak for a couple of minutes in Urdu language. Janabewala, I think, you understand Urdu-Hindi?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Hindi, not Urdu.

प्रो॰ सैफुद्दीन सोज: अयोध्या में जो हाल ही में हुआ, उससे पता चला कि अभी क्रॉस बोर्डर इन्सरजेंसी जो है वह अपनी जगह पर है। और कश्मीर में भी इसके कुछ इशारात मिलते हैं। इसीलिए क्रॉस बोर्डर इन्सरजेंसी का मामला पाकिस्तान से मुसलसल उठना चाहिए। कश्मीर की जरा-सी बात मैं करूं। कश्मीर में violence has been rejected as an instrument of resolving issues. और इसके आसार कश्मीर में मिलते हैं। कभी-कभी घटनाएं घटती हैं, लेकिन आतंकवाद के लिए अब कश्मीर में कोई जगह नहीं और अयोध्या में कुछ सरफिरे नौजवान तो तशद्दूद पर उतर आए हुए हैं और बाहर से आए हुए हैं, उसके हालात और भी मिलेंगे अगले दिनों मे। वह किसी हद तक

आगे जाने में कामयाब हो गये, लेकिन मुझे बड़ी परेशानी हो रही है कि बीजेपी के जो हमारे साथी हैं, वे यह भी कहते हैं कि हमे सियासत से ऊपर उठना चाहिए, लेकिन उन्होंने अपने दिल से कोई शाबासी उन लोगों को नहीं दी, जिन्होंने अपनी जान जोखिम में डालकर उनका मुकाबला किया और सबको मार डाला। ...(**व्यवधान**)... क्योंकि इनके वक्त में ऐसा नहीं हुआ और यह क्रेडिट इस गवर्नमेंट को जायेगा, इसलिए मुझे इस पर आश्चर्य होता है। I pray that there is a day when BJP becomes a national political party and gives up this narrow religious shape of things in the minds. I say it, not as a Congress man, but as a citizen. इसलिए सियासत से ऊपर उठिये और आपको यह कहना चाहिए था कि सेक्योरिटी फोर्सेज ने बहुत बड़े कारनामे को अंजाम दिया और एक मैसेज गया बड़े सुदूर में कि cross-border terrorism की कोई जगह नहीं है और हिन्दुस्तान में डटकर मुकाबला किया जायेगा।

जनाबेआला, मैंने दो-चार दिन पहले जनरल मुशर्रफ की तकरीर जी॰टी॰वी॰ पर सुनी। उन्होंने वहां के तशद्दुद और वहां के टेरिज्म को निशाना बनाते हुए कहा, लगता है कि वह भी वहां टेरिज्म से तंग आ चुके हैं और मेरी नजर में पाकिस्तान को टेरिज्म से बड़ा खतरा है। उन्होंने मदरसे की भी बात की, मदरसों में तंग जेहन पलने वालों की भी बात की और उन्होंने यह इशारा किया कि पाकिस्तान को मदरसों से खतरा है। उन्होंने तालिबान का नाम लिया और मुझे बड़ी खुशी हुई कि जनरल मुशर्रफ यह महसूस कर रहे हैं और हमारी बातचीत पाकिस्तान से जारी है। हमारे वजीर-ए-खारिजा, हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर जनरल मुशर्रफ के साथ राबते में हैं, उन्होंने यह मसला उठाया होगा कि पाकिस्तान का आईएसआई कश्मीर की गतिविधियों में शामिल है या अयोध्या में या पाकिस्तान की इस्लामी आर्गनाइजेशन्स अलग से कुछ कर रही हैं। मेरा यह मानना है कि अभी यह मसला उठाया जाना चाहिए और शिद्दत से उठाया जाना चाहिए। लेकिन अयोध्या के बारे में पूरी कौम ने जो रद्दे-अमल दिखाया, उसमें आपको खुशी महसूस होनी चाहिए कि काश्मीर में हुर्रियत कांफ्रेंस ने उसकी जमकर मजम्मत की और बंद भी रखा। इस तरह से समझना चाहिए कि हिन्दुस्तान में आतंकवाद के खिलाफ माहौल है और सारी कौम एक राय की है। मगर जनरल मुशर्रफ साहब की परेशानी पाकिस्तानी मदरसों से है, मैं इस सदन को यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमको भी थोड़ा-सा सोचना चाहिए, हमको इसके बारे में क्या करना चाहिए? जनरल मुशर्रफ साहब पाकिस्तान के लिए जो कुछ करना चाहते हैं, वह पाकिस्तान में करें, लेकिन हमको क्या करना चाहिए। इसलिए मैं आपकी वसातत से अपनी हुकूमत को यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमें यह सोचना चाहिए कि क्या मदरसा इस मुल्क में मुसलमान मांगते हैं। मुझे मदरसों से कोई शिकायत नहीं है, क्योंकि यहां पर मदरसों के खिलाफ कोई ठोस दलील नहीं दी गई है। जहां गवर्नमेंट स्कूल नहीं है और वहां मदरसा है तो यह ठीक ही है। अगर मदरसे में तंग नजरी पनपती है, तो हमको इसकी चिंता करनी चाहिए। मैं ईस्ट यूपी॰ में गया, डुमरियागंज, पडरौना आदि जगहों पर गया, मैंने देखा कि जहां मुसलमानों की बड़ी-बड़ी बस्तियां हैं, वहां मदरसे हैं, लेकिन सरकारी स्कूल नहीं हैं। इसके बारे में मैंने मुसलमानों से बात की, तो उन्होंने एक राय होकर मुझे बताया कि सरकारी स्कूल होने चाहिए। आज मैं इस सदन में अपील करना चाहता हूं कि हमारी मिनिस्ट्री जो तालीम की है, जो सर्वशिक्षा अभियान है, उसके तहत खास तवज्जो होनी

चाहिए, ताकि मदरसे बदल जायें और सरकारी स्कूल आ जायें, जहां पर सबके बच्चे पढ़े ब्राह्मण का बच्चा पढ़े मुसलमान का बच्चा पढ़े दलित का बच्चा पढ़े ताकि वह हिन्दुस्तान परवान चढ़े जो सबका होगा। यह आज भी सबका है, अगर कोई तबका इससे फायदा नहीं उठाता, सबका हिन्दुस्तान बनाने के लिए हमें कोशिश करनी चाहिए। उसमें मेरी एक तजवीज़ यह है कि मदरसे को जदीद लाइनों पर लाइए, साइंस और टेक्नोलॉजी दे दीजिए। इंदिरा जी ने कोशिश की, अब भी कोशिश जारी है, मगर मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि मदरसे को बदल दीजिए, सरकारी स्कूल में..

Sir, I have to offer Allama Iqbal with Naya Shiwala to: [پروفیسر سیف الدین سوز "جموں وکشمیر"

this august House. Therefore, I prefer to speak for a couple of minutes in Urdu language. Janabewala, I think, you understand Urdu-Hindi? ایودھیا میں جو حال ہی میں ہوا، اس سے پتہ چلا کہ ابھی کراس بارڈر انسرجینسی جو ہے وہ اپنی جگہ پر ہے۔ اور کشمیر میں بھی اس کے کچھ اشارات ملتے ہیں۔ اس لئے کراس بارڈر انسرجینسی کا معاملہ پاکستان سے مسلسل اٹھنا چاہئے۔ کشمیر کی ذرا سی بات میں کروں، کشمیر میں violence has been rejected as an instrument of resolving issues. اور اس کے آثار کشمیر میں ملتے ہیں۔ کبھی کبھی گھٹنائیں گھٹتی ہیں، لیکن آتنک واد کے لئے اب کشمیر میں کوئی جگہ نہیں اور ایودھیا میں کچھ سرپھرے نوجوان جو تشدد پر اتر آئے ہوئے ہیں اور باہر سے آئے ہوئے ہیں اس کے حالات اور بھی ملیں گے اگلے دنوں میں۔ وہ کسی حد تک آگے جانے میں کامیاب ہو گئے، لیکن مجھے بڑی پریشانی ہو رہی ہے کہ بی جے پی کے جو ہمارے ساتھی ہیں، وہ یہ بھی کہتے ہیں کہ ہمیں سیاست سے اوپر اٹھنا چاہئے، لیکن انہوں نے اپنے دل سے کوئی شاباشی ان لوگوں کو نہیں دی، جنہوں نے اپنی جان جوکھم میں ڈال کر ان کا مقابلہ کیا اور سب کو مار ڈالا ..... مداخلت..... کیونکہ ان کے وقت میں ایسا نہیں ہوا اور یہ کریڈٹ اس گورنمنٹ کو جائے گا، اس لئے مجھے اس پر حیرت ہوتی ہے۔ I pray that there is a day when BJP becomes national political party and gives up this narrow religious shape of things in the minds. I say it not as a Congress man but as a citizen اس لئے سیاست سے اوپر اٹھیے اور آپ کو یہ کہنا چاہئے تھا کہ یہ کوئی ورکر نے بہت بڑے کارنامے کو انجام دیا اور ایک میسیج گیا بڑے پیمانے پر کہ cross border terrorism کی کوئی جگہ نہیں ہے اور ہندوستان میں ڈٹ کر مقابلہ کیا جائے۔

~~Hon'ble Member/Not for publication~~ 27.07.05

جناب عالی، میں نے دو چار دن پہلے جنرل مشرف کی تقریر ٹی وی پر سنی۔ انہوں نے وہاں کے تشدد اور وہاں کے

†[ ] Transliteration in Urdu Script.

ٹیرورزم کونشانہ بناتے ہوئے کہا، لگتا ہے کہ وہ بھی وہاں ٹیرورزم سے تنگ آ چکے ہیں اور میری نظر میں پاکستان کو ٹیرورزم سے بڑا خطرہ ہے۔ انہوں نے مدرسے کی بھی بات کی، مدرسوں میں تنگ ذہن پلنے والوں کی بھی بات کی اور انہوں نے اشارہ کیا کہ پاکستان کو مدرسوں سے خطرہ ہے۔ انہوں نے طالبان کا نام لیا اور مجھے بڑی خوشی ہوئی کہ جنرل مشرف ایسا محسوس کر رہے ہیں اور ہماری بات چیت پاکستان سے جاری ہے۔ ہمارے وزیر خارجہ، ہمارے پرائم منسٹر جنرل مشرف کے ساتھ رابطے میں ہیں، انہوں نے یہ مسئلہ اٹھایا ہوگا کہ پاکستان کا آئی ایس آئی کشمیر کی آزادی کی تحریک میں شامل ہے یا ایودھیا میں یا پاکستان کی اسلامی آرگنائزیشن الگ سے کچھ کر رہی ہے۔ میرا یہ ماننا ہے کہ ابھی یہ مسئلہ اٹھایا جانا چاہئے اور شدت سے اٹھایا جانا چاہئے۔ لیکن ایودھیا کے بارے میں پوری قوم نے جو ردعمل دکھایا، اس میں آپ کو خوشی محسوس ہونی چاہئے کہ کشمیر میں حریت کانفرنس نے اس کی جم کر مذمت کی اور بند بھی رکھا۔ اس طرح سے سمجھنا چاہئے کہ ہندوستان میں آتنک واد کے خلاف ماحول ہے اور ساری قوم ایک رائے کی ہے۔ مگر جنرل مشرف صاحب کی پریشانی پاکستانی مدرسوں سے ہے، میں اس سدن کو یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہم کو بھی تھوڑا سا سوچنا چاہئے، ہم کو اس کے بارے میں کیا کرنا چاہئے؟ جنرل مشرف صاحب پاکستان کے لئے جو کچھ کرنا چاہتے ہیں، وہ پاکستان میں کریں، لیکن ہم کو کیا کرنا چاہئے۔ اس لئے میں آپ کی وساطت سے اپنی حکومت کو یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہمیں یہ سوچنا چاہئے کہ کیا مدرسہ اس ملک میں مسلمان مانگتے ہیں۔ مجھے مدرسوں سے کوئی شکایت نہیں ہے، کیوں کہ یہاں پر مدرسوں کے خلاف کوئی ٹھوس دلیل نہیں دی گئی ہے۔ جہاں گورنمنٹ اسکول نہیں ہیں اور وہاں مدرسہ ہے تو یہ ٹھیک ہی ہے۔ اگر مدرسے سے تنگ نظری پنپتی ہے، تو ہم کو اس کی چنتا کرنی چاہئے۔ میں ایسٹ یوپی میں گیا، ڈومریا گنج، پڈرونہ وغیرہ جگہوں پر گیا، میں نے دیکھا کہ جہاں مسلمانوں کی بڑی بڑی بستیاں ہیں، وہاں مدرسے ہیں، لیکن سرکاری اسکول نہیں ہیں۔ اس کے بارے میں میں نے مسلمانوں سے بات کی، تو انہوں نے ایک رائے ہو کر مجھے بتایا کہ سرکاری اسکول ہونے چاہئیں۔ آج میں اس سدن میں اپیل کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہماری منسٹری جو تعلیم کی ہے، جو سرد شکشا ابھیان ہے، اس کے تحت خاص توجہ ہونا چاہیے، تاکہ مدرسے بدل جائیں اور سرکاری اسکول آ جائیں، جہاں پر سب کے بچے پڑھیں، برہمن کا بچہ پڑھے، مسلمان کا بچہ پڑھے، دلت کا بچہ پڑھے، تاکہ وہ ہندوستان پروان چڑھے، جو سب کا ہوگا۔ وہ آج بھی سب کا ہے، اگر کوئی طبقہ اس سے فائدہ نہیں اٹھاتا، سب کا ہندوستان بنانے کے لئے ہمیں کوشش کرنا چاہئے۔

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†[ ] Transliteration in Urdu Script.

Uncorrected/Not for publication - 27.07.05

اس میں میری ایک تجویز یہ ہے کہ مدارسے وجدید تعلیم کو ملاکر ہائی اسکول اور انٹرمیڈیٹ دے دیجئے۔ اندرا جی نے کوشش کی، اب بھی کوشش جاری ہے مگر میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ مدرسے کو بدل دیجئے، سرکاری اسکول میں.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Soz saheb, will you complete within a couple of minutes? ...(*Interruptions*)...If you do not mind, you have to conclude and shorten because the Minister has to go elsewhere. ...(*Interruptions*)...

PROF. SAIFU-UD-DIN SOZ: This cannot be said otherwise.

जनाब-ए-आला, आप हिन्दुस्तान के बहुत बड़े मुकन्निन हैं, कानूनदान हैं, मैं आपके माध्यम से इस सदन को यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि अभी भी बीजेपी का पेट नहीं भरा है, ये पोटा का जिक्र कर रहे हैं। लीडर ऑफ दी आपोज़िशन ने इशारा दिया है कि कानून होना चाहिए। मैं इस गवर्नमेंट को ट्रिब्यूट करता हूं, जिन्होंने पोटा को हटाया, मगर इंसाफ फराहम किया। मुझे होम मिन्स्टिर की वह तकरीर याद आ रही थी, जब उन्होंने कहा था कि हम टैररिज्म के खिलाफ पूरी कुव्वत से लड़ेंगे, लेकिन उसी कुव्वत से निर्दोष इंसानों को बचाने के लिए भी लड़ेंगे। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं, अभी हैदराबाद के हमारे जो कानूनदान हैं, वे उठकर चले गए - हालांकि मैंने किसी कॉलेज में कानून नहीं पढ़ा है - मैं उनसे यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे पास 34 ऐक्ट हैं, जो अंदरूनी सलामती के लिए हैं और अगर इंडियन पीनल कोड को ही आप देखें कि अगर किसी आतंकवादी को कोई पनाह देता है, हार्बर करता है तो उसके लिए उसमें हार्बर क्या-क्या चीज़ है। उसमें यह है कि शैल्टर देना, फूड देना, ड्रिंक देना, मनी देना, क्लोथ्स, आर्म्स- एम्युनीशंस या मीन्स ऑफ कन्वेयंस आदि। इसका मतलब है कि न सिर्फ आतंकवादी से लड़ा जा सकता है बल्कि उनको हार्बर और पनाह देने वालों के साथ आप इंडियन पीनल कोड से भी लड़ सकते हैं। इसलिए आपको एक चस्का लग गया है, पोटा का जिक्र करने का। आज भी पोटा रिव्यू कमेटी के डिसीज़ंस स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स नहीं मानती हैं और कई लोग निर्दोष होकर - यहां की अदालत ने बताया कि वे निर्दोष हैं, उनके खिलाफ गलत केस था, दो बरस जेल में रहे और अभी भी जेल में हैं। मुझे अफसोस होता है जिस वक्त बीजेपी बार-बार कहती है कि पोटा होना चाहिए। आपके पास कवानीन है, आपके पास पॉलिटिकल विल होनी चाहिए, जो इस गर्वनमेंट ने दिखायी। वहां आतंकवादी ढेर हो गए और निर्दोष लोगो को बचाने के लिए ..(**समय की घंटी**).. आपको क्या फायदा होता है, दिल में आपको राहत होती है कि निर्दोष लागों को सजा दी जाए? इसलिए इस मुल्क में वह कानून हो कि आप आतंकवादियों से जमकर लड़िए, आतंकवाद को इस मुल्क से जड़ से उखाड़िए लेकिन आपका यही जज्बा निर्दोष लोगों को बचाने के लिए भी होना चाहिए। इसलिए चूंकी घंटी बज चुकी है, मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हूं कि आल्लामा-इकबाल ने आपको ऐडवाइज किया था, जिसको यह

सदन थोड़ा भूला हुआ है, इसलिए मैं आपको वह सुनाना चाहता हूं-''नया शिवाला''। मैं सारा नहीं पढ़ूंगा। ...(**व्यवधान**)... अगर आप इजाजत दें तो पूरा पढ़ूंगा और आपको बात समझ आ जाएगी कि हमें क्या चाहिए। अल्लामा-इकबाल ने ब्राह्मण को, पुजारी को, मौलवी को, सबको कहा, ''मैं तुम लोगो से तंग आ गया हूं । '' ...(**व्यवधान**)... इसलिए उसने कहा, उस वक्त कहा, मुझे याद नहीं हैं। ...(**व्यवधान**)... आप देखिए, इसमें क्या है? I Stand for that India...(*Interruptions*)... together we have to built cutting across party lines and rising above political consideration.

नया शिवाला

सच कह दूं ऐ ब्राह्मण, अगर तू बुरा न माने
तेरे सनम-कदों के बुत हो गए पुराने
अपनों से बैर रखना तूने बुतों से सीखा
जंग-व-जदल सिखाया वाउज़ को भी खुदा ने
तंग आके मैंने आखिर दैरो-हरम को छोड़ा
वाउज़ का वाज़ छोड़ा, छोड़े तेरे फसाने
पत्थर की मूरतों में समझा है तू खुदा है
खाक-ए-वतन का मुझको हर ज़र्रा देवता है
आ गैरियत के पर्दे इक बार फिर उठा दें
बिछड़ो को फिर मिला दें नक्श-ए-दोई मिटा दें
सूनी पड़ी हुई है मुद्दत से दिल की बस्ती
आ इक नया शिवाला इस देश में बना दें
दुनिया के तीरथों से ऊंचा हो वो तीरथ
दामान-ए-आसमां से इसका कलस मिला दें
हर सुबह उठके गाएं मंतर वो मीठे-मीठे
सारे पुजारियों को मय पीत की पिला दें
शक्ति भी शांति भी भक्तों के गीत में है
धरती के वासियों की मुक्ति प्रीत में है।

Thank you very much. So, let us sometimes try to rise above party consideration ...(*Interruptions*) ... Therefore, speak the truth that can built a strong and united India . Thank you.

†[ ] Transliteration in Urdu Script.

پروفیسر سیف الدین سوز : This cannot be said otherwise جناب عالی، آپ ہندستان کے بہت بڑے مقنن ہیں، قانون داں ہیں، میں آپ کے مادھیم سے اس سدن سے یہ پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ابھی بھی بی جے پی کا پیٹ نہیں بھرا ہے، یہ پوٹا کا ذکر کر رہے ہیں۔ لیڈر آف دی اپوزیشن نے اشارہ دیا ہے کہ قانون ہونا چاہئے۔ میں اس گورنمنٹ کو ٹریپوٹ کرتا ہوں، جنہوں نے پوٹا کو ہٹایا، مگر انصاف فراہم کیا۔ مجھے ہوم منسٹر کی وہ تقریر یاد آ رہی تھی، جب انہوں نے کہا تھا کہ ہم ٹیررزم کے خلاف پوری قوت سے لڑیں گے لیکن اسی قوت سے نردوش انسانوں کو بچانے کے لئے بھی لڑیں گے۔ میں یہ پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں، ابھی حیدرآباد کے ہمارے جو قانون داں ہیں، وہ اٹھ کر چلے گئے، حالاں کہ میں نے کسی کالج میں قانون نہیں پڑھا ہے۔ میں ان سے یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہمارے پاس ۳۴ ایکٹ ہیں جو اندرونی سلامتی کے لئے ہیں اور اگر انڈین پینل کوڈ کو ہی آپ دیکھیں کہ اگر کسی آتنک وادی کو کوئی پناہ دیتا ہے، ہار بر کرتا ہے تو اس کے لئے اس میں ہار بر کیا کیا چیز ہے۔ اس میں یہ ہے کہ شیلٹر دینا، فوڈ دینا، ڈرنک دینا، منی دینا، کلاتھس، آرمس ایمیونیشنس یا مینس آف کنوینس وغیرہ۔ اس کا مطلب ہے کہ نہ صرف آتنک واد سے لڑا جا سکتا ہے بلکہ ان کو ہار بر اور پناہ دینے والوں کے ساتھ آپ انڈین پینل کوڈ سے بھی لڑ سکتے ہیں۔ اس لئے آپ کو ایک چسکا لگ گیا ہے، پوٹا کا ذکر کرنے کا۔ آج بھی پوٹا ریویو کمیٹی کے دو سینئر اسٹیٹ گورنمنٹس نہیں مانتی ہیں اور کئی لوگ نردوش ہو کر بھی یہاں کی عدالت نے بتایا کہ وہ نردوش ہیں، ان کے خلاف غلط کیس تھا، دو برس جیل رہے اور ابھی بھی جیل میں ہیں۔ مجھے افسوس ہوتا ہے کہ جس وقت بی جے پی بار بار کہتی ہے کہ پوٹا ہونا چاہئے۔ آپ کے پاس قوانین ہیں، آپ کے پاس پالیٹیکل دل ہونی چاہئے جو اس گورنمنٹ نے دکھائی۔ وہاں آتنک وادی ڈھیر ہو گئے اور نردوش لوگوں کو بچانے کے لئے .....(وقت کی گھنٹی).....آپ کو کیا فائدہ ہوتا ہے، دل میں آپ کو راحت ہوتی ہے کہ نردوش لوگوں کو سزا دی جائے؟ اس لئے اس ملک میں وہ قانون ہو کہ آپ آتنک وادیوں سے جم کر لڑیں، آتنک واد کو اس ملک سے جڑ سے اکھاڑیں، لیکن آپ کا یہی جذبہ نردوش لوگوں کو بچانے کے لئے بھی ہونا چاہئے۔ اس لئے چونکہ گھنٹی بج چکی ہے، میں آپ کو یاد دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ علامہ اقبال نے آپ کو ایڈوائز کیا تھا جس کو یہ سدن تھوڑا بھولا ہوا ہے اس لئے میں آپ کو وہ سنانا چاہتا ہوں۔ نیا شوالہ۔ میں سارا نہیں پڑھوں گا .....مداخلت.....اگر آپ اجازت دیں تو پورا پڑھوں گا اور آپ کو بات سمجھ آ جائیگی کہ ہمیں کیا چاہئے۔ علامہ اقبال نے برہمن کو، پجاری کو، مولوی کو، سب کو کہا، ''میں تم لوگوں سے تنگ آ گیا ہوں۔ .....مداخلت..... اس لئے اس نے کہا، اس وقت کہا، مجھے یاد نہیں ہے۔.....مداخلت.....آپ دیکھئے، اس میں کیا ہے

I stand for that India ...((Interruptions))... Uncorrected/Not for publication — 27.07.05

Together we have to build India cutting across party lines and rising above political consideration.

† Transliteration in Urdu Script.

نیا شوالہ

سچ کہہ دوں اے برہمن! گر تو برا نہ مانے
تیرے بت کدوں کے بت ہو گئے پرانے
اپنوں سے بیر رکھنا تو نے بتوں سے سیکھا
جنگ و جدل سکھایا واعظ کو بھی خدا نے
تنگ آ کے میں نے آخر دیر و حرم کو چھوڑا
واعظ کا وعظ چھوڑے ترے فسانے
پتھر کی مورتوں میں سمجھا ہے تو خدا ہے
خاکِ وطن کا مجکو ہر ذرہ دیوتا ہے
آ، غیرت کے پردے اک بار پھر اٹھا دیں
بچھڑوں کو پھر ملا دیں، نقشِ دوئی مٹا دیں
سُونی پڑی ہوئی ہے مدت سے دل کی بستی
آ، اک نیا شوالہ اس دیس میں بنا دیں
دنیا کے تیرتھوں سے اونچا ہو اپنا تیرتھ
دامانِ آسماں سے اس کا کلس ملا دیں
ہر صبح اُٹھ کے گائیں منتر وہ میٹھے میٹھے
سارے پجاریوں کو مے پیت کی پلا دیں
شکتی بھی شانتی بھی بھگتوں کے گیت میں ہے
دھرتی کے باسیوں کی مکتی پریت میں ہے

Thank you very much. So, let us sometimes try to rise above party consideration. ...*(Interruptions)*... Therefore, speak the truth that can build a strong and united India. Thank you

†[ ] Transliteration in Urdu Script.

5.00 P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): May I take the sense of the House? Shall we canclude the debate today?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes, Sir.

प्रो॰ अलका क्षत्रिय: उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हम देश और दुनिया में व्याप्त आतंकवाद की बहुत ही गंभीर समस्या पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं। पिछले दो दशक से भारत आतंकवाद से ग्रसित है, जिसकी वजह से देश के दो पूर्व प्रधान मंत्रियों ने अपनी जान गंवाई है और जान-माल का भी का काफी नुकसान हुआ है। देश के विकास पर भी इसका विपरीत असर पड़ा है, लेकिन आज मैं अयोध्या के परिप्रेक्ष्य में ही अपनी बात रखती हूं।

महोदय, 5 जुलाई को अयोध्या की पवित्र भूमि पर राम जन्मभूमि-बाबरी मस्जिद परिसर में आतंकवादी हमला हुआ। हमारे बहादुर और सतर्क सुरक्षाकर्मियों ने थोड़े ही पलों में आतंकवादियों को ढेर कर दिया। आतंकवादी ए॰ के॰ राइफलों, ग्रेनेडों और विस्फोटक पदार्थों से लैस थे। उनकी पूरी तैयारी थी कि परिसर में स्थित राम मूर्ति को नुकसान पहुंचाएं, लेकिन उनके अपवित्र इरादे पूरे नहीं हो सके। हमारे सी॰आर॰पी॰एफ॰ और पी॰ए॰सी॰ के बहादुर जवानों ने कुछ ही क्षणों में उन्हें मिट्टी में मिला दिया, इसके लिए मैं उन बहादुर सिपाहियों का अभिनंदन करती हूं। अयोध्या की इस घटना ने हमारे देश के सामने, हमारे सुरक्षा बलों के सामने, हमारे प्रजातंत्र के सामने एक बड़ा प्रश्न खड़ा कर दिया है और वह प्रश्न है देश की सुरक्षा और आतंकवाद का। अभी तक जो जांच हुई है और जो सुबूत मिले हैं, उनके आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि इस घटना के पीछे पकिस्तान प्रेरित और कश्मीर में कार्यरत लश्करे-तैयबा नाम का आतंवादी संगठन जिम्मेदार है कश्मीरी आतंकवादी कश्मीर से दिल्ली होते हुए अकबरपुर से अयोध्या पहुंचे।

महोदय, आज दुनिया आतंकवाद से ग्रसित है। इंटरनैशनल कम्युनिटी आतंकवाद को जड़ से निकाल फेंकने की बात कर रही है। अयोध्या की घटना के दो दिन बाद ही लंदन में विस्फोट हुए, जिसमें 50 से अधिक लोगों की मौत हुई और सैकड़ो घायल हुए। उस समय ग्लेन ईगल में जी-8 देशों की बैठक चल रही थी। बैठक का सारा ध्यान आतंकवाद की तरफ चला गया। आतंकवाद के जड़-मूल का विनाश किए बिना विकास या शांति की बात नहीं हो सकती। मैं विश्व के विकसित देशों का ध्यान इस बात की तरफ खींचना चाहती हूं कि आतंकवाद के लिए दोहरे मापदंड नहीं हो सकते, जैसा प्रधान मंत्री जी ने ग्लेन ईगल में अपने वक्तव्य में कहा गया है कि अयोध्या और लंदन में अंतर नहीं किया जा सकता। सभ्य समाज में आतंकवाद के लिए कोई स्थान नहीं है। इस बारे में पिक एंड चूज की नीति नहीं चल सकती। आतंकवाद आतंकवाद है, वह न्यूयॉर्क में हो, चाहे लंदन में, चाहे स्पेन में, चाहे मिस्र में या फिर हमारे संसद पर या अयोध्या के पवित्र परिसर में। लंदन में हमने के बाद सारी दुनिया की नजरें पाकिस्तान की तरफ जा रही हैं और वहां के आतंकवादी

प्रशिक्षण शिविरों की तरफ जा रही हैं, लेकिन क्या यह अनैतिक नहीं है कि पश्चिमी देशों के प्रजातंत्र मानव अधिकारों की दुहाई देते हैं, जिनकी नजर वहां पहले भी जानी चाहिए थी, जब हमारी संसद पर हमला हुआ, अक्षरधाम पर हमला हुआ, हजरत बल की दरगाह पर हमला हुआ, चरार-ए-शरीफ पर हमला हुआ और अयोध्या की पवित्र भूमि पर हमला हुआ? इस अवसर पर मैं देश के लोगों को सांप्रदायिक सद्भाव बनाए रखने के लिए बधाई देना चाहती हूं। देश की जनता ने जिस साहस और सांप्रदायिक सद्भाव के साथ इस घटना का सामना किया है, उससे सरहद के पार और सरहद के अंदर की सांप्रदायिक ताकतों को सबक लेना चाहिए। घटना के तुरंत बाद प्रधान मंत्री जी ने सारे राज्यों को सांप्रदायिक वातावरण बनाए रखने के लिए सतर्क कर दिया। यूपीए की चेयरपर्सन श्रीमती सोनिया जी ने भी इसका कड़ा विरोध किया और इस पर अपनी चिंता जताई। मध्य प्रदेश और राजस्थान में कुछ घटनाओं को छोड़कर पूरे देश में शांति और व्यवस्था बनी रही। अमेरिका और ब्रिटेन में जब आतंकवादी हमले हुए थे, तो वहां के सभी नागरिकों ने, वहां की सभी पोलिटिकल पार्टियों ने मिलकर आतंकवाद का विरोध किया था। इतना ही नहीं, बल्कि किसी भी पोलिटिकल पार्टी ने इसका राजनीतिकरण नहीं किया था, इससे राजनीतिक लाभ लेने की कोशिश नहीं की थी, लेकिन हमारे यहां कुछ सांप्रदायिक दलों के नेताओं ने अयोध्या परिसर में जाकर उत्तेजक भाषण करके लोगों में सांप्रदायिक मन-मुटाव पैदा करने की कोशिश की, लेकिन वे कामयाब नहीं हुए। कुछ राजनीतिक दलों ने 6 और 7 जुलाई को विभिन्न राज्यों में बंद का आयोजन कर राजनीतिक लाभ उठाने की कोशिश की। ऐसी परिस्थिति में, जहां एक साथ मिलकर परिस्थिति का सामना करने की जरूरत थी, वे लोग स्थिति के राजनीतिकरण से बाज नहीं आए। लेकिन जनता ने इस बंद को नकार दिया और अधिकांश राज्यों में जन जीवन सामान्य रहा। मध्य प्रदेश के इंदौर जिले में सांप्रदायिक वातावरण ...(व्यवधान)... (समय की घंटी)।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): You have to conclude now.

प्रो॰ अलका क्षत्रिय: एक सैकिण्ड बस। इसकी कोशिश हुई। इंदौर और राजस्थान के कुछ इलाकों को छोड़कर, क्योंकि वहां सांप्रदायिक घटना घटी, लेकिन सभी जगह शांति और व्यवस्था बनी रही। इन इलाकों में पिछले कुछ समय से जो सांप्रदायिक तनाव चल रहा था उसने इसमें आग में घी डालने का काम कर दिया। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आज आपके माध्यम से सभी पोलिटिकल पार्टीज से संकीर्णता को छोड़कर राष्ट्र के हित में साथ मिलकर आतंकवाद से लड़ने और सांप्रदायिक सद्भाव बनाए रखने की अपील करती हूं। आइए, हम सभी प्रतिज्ञा करें कि आतंकवाद के साथ इस लड़ाई में हम सभी धर्म, जाति, राज्य के भेदभाव को छोड़कर साथ-साथ आगे बढ़ेंगे। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): There are two more speakers. Mr. Azmi and Mr. Sharad Joshi. You have to speak in a capsule form.

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज (उत्तरांचल): उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, इन लोगों का होने के बाद आप चर्चा कन्क्लुड कर दीजिए और मिनिस्टर का रिप्लाई कल करा दीजिए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): He has a business in the other House.

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज: सर, कल इन्हीं का बिजनेस है हमारे यहां।

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL): I have two matters in the other House and one matter in this House.

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज: सर, हमारे मैटर के लिए इनको आना ही है हमारे यहां।

SHRI ABU ASIM AZMI (Uttar Pradesh): Thank you very much that you have given me an opportunity. देश में हाल ही में हुए अयोध्या हमले के संदर्भ में सीमा पार से आतंकवाद की बढ़ती घटनाओं और आतंकवादी कार्रवाइयों के कारण उत्पन्न स्थिति के संबंध में हो रही चर्चा में आपने मुझे बोलने दिया, इसके लिए बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया। मैं बहुत देर से बैठा अपनी बारी का इंतजार कर रहा था कि मेरी बारी कब आएगी। मैंने बहुत सारे वक्ताओं को सुना और मुझे बड़ी हंसी आ रही थी। इस तरफ के बैठे लोग भी यह बात कर रहे हैं कि हमें अपनी पार्टी लाइन से उठकर बात करनी चाहिए। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आपको बताऊं कि जो टॉपिक दिया गया है, आज देश में दो तरह के आतंकवाद का खतरा है। एक क्रॉस बॉर्डर आतंकवाद है। दूसरे मुल्कों से हमारे मुल्क में जो टेरेरिस्ट आ रहे हैं, उनसे खतरा पैदा हो रहा है। लेकिन इसके साथ-साथ इस मुल्क में रहने वाले वे लोग जो आपस में नफरतें फैला रहे हैं, उनका आतंकवाद उनसे कम नहीं है, उन्हीं के बराबर है। अगर आज इस मुल्क में कट्टरपंथियों ने, जिस तरह से हिंदुस्तान में रहने वाले बीस करोड़ मुसलमानों के साथ मंदिर और मस्जिद के नाम पर, उन्हें कभी-कभी पाकिस्तानी भी कह देते हैं, लेकिन एक मुसलमान होने के नाते मैं आपको बताऊं कि:

"बदन में दौड़ता सारा लहू ईमान वाला है,
मगर जालिम समझता है कि पाकिस्तान वाला है।
कहीं भी छोड़कर अपनी जमीं नहीं जाते
हमें बुलाती है दुनिया हम ही नहीं जाते।
उन मुहाजिरों से अच्छे तो ये परिंदे हैं
शिकार होते हैं लेकिन कहीं नहीं जाते।

यह मुल्क 1947 में आजाद हुआ। उसके बाद इस मुल्क में अकलियत पर जिस तरह से हमले होने लगे, उससे आतंकवाद को बहुत बढ़ावा मिला। वाइस चेयरमैन सर, वे लोग जो दूसरे मुल्कों के हैं, वे हिन्दुस्तान में ताक लगाए बैठे हैं कि इनका कहीं भी हमें ऐसा आपसी प्वाइंट मिल जाए जिससे हम उनके अंदर घुसकर उनका फायदा उठा लें, यह बिल्कुल सच है। गुजरात में ट्रेन को जला दिया गया, उसमें अस्सी लोग मरे, लेकिन इन लोगों ने उस ऐक्शन का रिएक्शन कर दिया। इंक्वारी हुई नहीं और उन लोगों ने, जो हुकूमत में बैठे हुए थे एक्शन का रिएक्शन कर दिया। एक्शन के रिएक्शन में दो से तीन हजार लोगों को जला दिया। बिलकिस बानो का रेप किया गया। वह पुलिस स्टेशन गई, उसे मदद नहीं मिली। पुलिस ने उसके साथ इंसाफ नहीं किया और आज स्थिति

यह है कि सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने कह दिया है कि मुकदमें गुजरात में मत चलाओ, महाराष्ट्र में चलाओ। अगर उस बिलकिस बानों के भाई, उसके पति, उसके रिश्तेदार को कोई आतंकवादी, जो हिंदुस्तान में ताक लगाए बैठा है, वह कहीं न कहीं से उसके संपर्क में आ जाता है तो यकीन जानिए कि जब पुलिस और हुकूमत मदद नहीं करती तो वह व्यक्ति कहीं न कहीं से जरूर मदद ले लेता है, जिसकी वजह से हिंदुस्तान में आतंकवाद बढ़ रहा है। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि:

हुकूमत क्या करोगे, जब तुम्हें यह भी नहीं मालूम,
हुकूके अलहे गुलशन की हिफाजत कैसे होती है।
मेरे असलाफ सदियों जिन्होंने की है सुल्तानी,
मेरे असलाफ से पूछो हिफाजत कैसे होती है।

सर, अपनी पार्टी से मैं पहला आदमी बोल रहा हूं। मेरा समय अभी बाकी है क्योंकि अभी तो मैं दो-तीन मिनट ही बोला हूं।

Thank you very much that you have given me:

کا فائدہ اٹھالیں، یہ بالکل سچ ہے۔ گجرات میں ٹرین کو جلا دیا گیا، اس میں اسّی لوگ مرے، لیکن ان سکولرائزس پر پوری ہیں لوگوں نے اس ایکشن کاری ایکشن کر دیا۔ انکوائری ہوئی اور ان لوگوں نے، جو حکومت میں بیٹھے ہوئے تھے ایکشن کاری ایکشن کر دیا۔ ایکشن کے ری ایکشن میں دو سے تین ہزار لوگوں کو جلا دیا۔ بلقیس بانو کا ریپ کیا گیا۔ وہ پولس اسٹیشن گئی، اسے مدد نہیں ملی۔ پولس نے اس کے ساتھ انصاف نہیں کیا اور آج حالت یہ ہے کہ سپریم کورٹ نے کہہ دیا ہے کہ مقدمے گجرات میں مت چلاؤ، مہاراشٹر میں چلاؤ۔ اگر اس بلقیس بانو کے بھائی، اس کے پتی، اس کے رشتہ دار کو کوئی آتنک وادی، جو ہندوستان میں تاک لگائے بیٹھا ہے، وہ کہیں نہ کہیں سے اس کے سمپرک میں آ جاتا ہے تو یقین جانیئے کہ جب پولیس اور حکومت مدد نہیں کرتی تو وہ شخص کہیں نہ کہیں سے ضرور مدد لے لیتا ہے، جس کی وجہ سے ہندوستان میں آتنک واد بڑھ رہا ہے۔ میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں۔

حکومت کیا کرو گے، جب تمھیں یہ بھی نہیں معلوم
حقوقِ اہلِ گلشن کی حفاظت کیسے ہوتی ہے
میرے اسلاف صدیوں جنہوں نے کی ہے سلطانی
میرے اسلاف سے پوچھو حفاظت کیسے ہوتی ہے

سر، اپنی پارٹی سے میں پہلا آدمی بول رہا ہوں۔ میرا سے ابھی باقی ہے کیوں کہ ابھی تو میں دو تین منٹ ہی بولا ہوں۔

†[ ] Transliteration in Urdu Script.

†[شری ابو عاصم اعظمی "اتر پردیش"

an opportunity. دیش میں حال ہی میں ہوئے ایودھیا حملے کے سندربھ میں سیما پار سے آتنک واد کی بڑھتی گھٹناؤں اور آتنک وادی کاروائیوں کی وجہ پیدا حالت کے سمبندھ میں ہو رہی چرچا میں آپ نے مجھے بولنے دیا، اس کے لئے بہت بہت شکریہ۔ میں بہت دیر سے بیٹھا اپنی باری کا انتظار کر رہا تھا کہ میری باری کب آئے گی۔ میں نے بہت سارے وقتاؤں کو سنا اور مجھے بری ہنسی آ رہی تھی۔ اس طرح کے بیٹھے لوگ بھی یہ بات کر رہے ہیں کہ ہمیں اپنی پارٹی لائن سے اٹھ کر بات کرنی چاہئے۔

اُپ سبھاادھیکش جی، میں آپ کو بتاؤں کہ جو ٹاپک دیا گیا ہے، آج دیش میں دو طرح کے آتنک واد کا خطرہ ہے۔ ایک کراس بارڈر آتنک واد ہے۔ دوسرے ملکوں سے ہمارے ملک میں جو ٹیرورسٹ آ رہے ہیں، ان سے خطرہ پیدا ہو رہا ہے۔ لیکن اس کے ساتھ ساتھ اس ملک میں رہنے والے وہ لوگ جو آپس میں نفرتیں پھیلا رہے ہیں، ان کا آتنک واد ان سے کم نہیں ہے، انہیں کے برابر ہے۔ اگر آج اس ملک میں کٹر پنتھیوں نے، جس طرح سے ہندوستان میں رہنے والے بیس کروڑ مسلمانوں کے ساتھ مندر اور مسجد کے نام پر، انہیں کبھی کبھی پاکستانی بھی کہہ دیتے ہیں، لیکن ایک مسلمان ہونے کے ناطے میں آپ کو بتاؤں کہ ہے

بدن میں دوڑتا سارا لہو ایمان والا ہے
مگر ظالم سمجھتا ہے کہ پاکستان والا ہے
کہیں بھی چھوڑ کر اپنی زمیں نہیں جاتے
ہمیں بلاتی ہے دنیا ہم ہی نہیں جاتے
ان مہاجروں سے اچھے تو یہ پرندے ہیں
شکار ہوتے ہیں، لیکن نہیں جاتے

یہ ملک ۱۹۴۷ء میں آزاد ہوا۔ اس کے بعد اس ملک میں اقلیت پر جس طرح سے حملے ہونے لگے، اس سے آتنک واد کو بہت بڑھاوا ملا۔ وائس چیئرمین سر، وہ لوگ جو دوسرے ملکوں کے ہیں، وہ ہندوستان میں تاک لگائے بیٹھے ہیں کہ ان کا کہیں بھی ہمیں ایسا آپسی پوائنٹ مل جائے جس سے ہم ان کے اندر گھس ان

†[ ] Transliteration in Urdu Script.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): But your name was not put in by the Chairman. (*Interruptions*) Sorry, not as a matter of right. (*Interruptions*) Please conclude.

श्री अबू आसिम आजमी: सर, मैं आपको बता दूं कि आज का जो मौजू है, यह अयोध्या का है और आपको तो इस अयोध्या के मौजू पर उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार को बधाई देनी चाहिए, टेलीग्राम भेजना चाहिए वहां के मुख्यमंत्री मुलायम सिंह यादव जी को। अभी हमारे मिश्र जी बोल रहे थे, हालांकि मेरे अच्छे मिलने वाले हैं, जब मिलते हैं तो बड़ी अच्छी बातें करते हैं, लेकिन कहते हैं, जैसा एक शेर है:

मोहब्बत करने वालों में झगड़ा डाल देती है
सियासत दोस्ती की जड़ में मट्ठा डाल देती है।

सर, वे खूब बात करते हैं, लेकिन आज ऐसा लगा कि जैसे आतंकवादियों से इनकी बात हुई थी, कहीं न कहीं इनको मालूम था कि वे आतंकवादी कहां से आए, कैसे आए और उस वक्त कोई बैठा नहीं था और पुलिस वालों को छुट्टी मिल गई थी। इस तरह की बाते करते हैं, जैसे इनको सब मालूम था। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर इनकी सारी बातें मान भी लें, तो उसके बाद भी एक भी आतंकवादी वहां से जिंदा नहीं गया, सभी आतंकवादी मारे गए। मैं तो यूपीए की चेयरपर्सन को और हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब को भी बधाई देता हूं कि उन्होंने बड़ी अच्छी बात की,लेकिन हमारे जो दूसरे स्टेट होम मिनिस्टर हैं, इनका स्टेटमेंट थोड़ा सा अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी से मिलता-जुलता है कि सिक्योरिटी में लेप्स थी। मैं तो इनसे कहूंगा कि अगर लेप्स थी और आपने वहां पर बचा लिया, तो 1992 में यहा दिल्ली में किसकी सरकार थी? उस वक्त दिल्ली में आपकी सरकार थी और सारी दुनिया को मालूम था कि 6 दिसंबर को हमला होने वाला है और यह जुलाई का हमला तो किसी को पता ही नहीं था, लेकिन 4 दिसंबर को हमारे नेता मुलायम सिंह यादव जी आकर कह गए थे। मैं बड़े अदब से यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे जो स्टेट होम मिनिस्टर साहब कह रहे हैं कि लेप्स थी, तो लेप्स होने के बाद जिस तरह से हमारे पुलिस वालों ने वहां पर आतंकवादियों को मार गिराया, उसकी शाबाशी तो देनी चाहिए। जब 6 दिसंबर को वहां पर जो कुछ हुआ, उस समय तो हमारी सरकार नहीं थी और उस दिन बाबरी मस्जिद तोड़ दी गई। अगर इस मुल्क में सबसे बड़ा आतंकवाद कोई हुआ, तो वह सबसे पहला तब हुआ था, जब गांधीजी को मारा गया था और दूसरा सबसे बड़ा आतंकवाद इस मुल्क में तब हुआ था, जब 6 दिसंबर को बाबरी मस्जिद को तोड़ दिया गया। आज तो मुलायम सिंह यादव जी की आपको तारीफ करना चाहिए, उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार की आपको तारीफ करनी चाहिए। जब मुलायम सिंह यादव जी 30 अक्तूबर, 1990 को वहां थे, तब भी लाखों लोग आए थे, लेकिन उस वक्त भी उन्होंने बहुत कठोर कदम उठाया था ओर कट्टरपंथी मारे गए थे।

† Transliteration in Urdu Script.

شری ابو عاصم اعظمی: سر، میں آپ کو بتادوں کہ آج کا جو موضوع ہے، یہ ایودھیا کا ہے اور آپ کو تو اس ایودھیا کے موضوع پر اتر پردیش سرکار کو بدھائی دینی چاہئے، ٹیلی گرام بھیجنا چاہئے وہاں کے مکھیہ منتری ملائم سنگھ یادو جی کو۔ ابھی ہمارے مشرا جی بول رہے تھے، حالانکہ میرے اچھے ملنے والے ہیں، جب ملتے ہیں تو بڑی اچھی باتیں کرتے ہیں، لیکن کہتے ہیں، جیسا ایک شعر ہے ۔

محبت کرنے والوں میں جھگڑا ڈال دیتی ہے

سیاست دوستی کی جڑ میں متھا ڈال دیتی ہے

سر، وہ خوب بات کرتے ہیں، لیکن آج ایسا لگا کہ جیسے آتنک وادیوں سے ان کی بات ہوئی تھی، کہیں نہ کہیں ان کو معلوم تھا کہ آتنک وادی کہاں سے آئے، کیسے آئے اور اس وقت کوئی بیٹھا نہیں تھا اور پولس والوں کو چھٹی مل گئی تھی۔ اس طرح کی باتیں کرتے ہیں، جیسے ان کو سب معلوم تھا۔ اس لئے میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر ان کی ساری باتیں مان بھی لیں، تو اس کے بعد بھی ایک بھی آتنک وادی وہاں سے زندہ نہیں گیا، سبھی آتنک وادی مارے گئے۔ میں تو یو. پی. اے. کی چیئر پرسن کو اور ہمارے ہوم منسٹر صاحب کو بھی بدھائی دیتا ہوں کہ انہوں نے بڑی اچھی بات کی، لیکن ہمارے جو دوسرے اسٹیٹ ہوم منسٹر ہیں، ان کا اسٹیٹ مینٹ تھوڑا سا ائل بہاری جی سے ملتا جلتا ہے۔ کہ لیپس تھی۔ میں تو ان سے کہوں گا کہ اگر لیپس تھی اور آپ اگر مسکوہ کی لیپس نے وہاں پر بچالیا، تو ۱۹۶۲ء میں یہاں دہلی میں کس کی سرکار تھی؟ اس وقت دہلی میں آپ کر سرکار تھی اور ساری دنیا کو معلوم تھا کہ ۶ دسمبر کو حملہ ہونے والا ہے اور یہ جولائی کا حملہ تو کسی کو پتہ ہی نہیں تھا، لیکن ۴ دسمبر کو ہمارے نیتا ملائم سنگھ یادو جی آکر کہہ گئے تھے۔ میں بڑے ادب سے یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہمارے جو اسٹیٹ ہوم منسٹر صاحب کہہ رہے ہیں کہ لیپس تھی، تو لیپس ہونے کے بعد جس طرح سے ہمارے پولس والوں نے وہاں پر آتنک وادیوں کو مار گرایا، اس کی شاباشی تو دینی چاہئے۔ جب ۶ دسمبر کو وہاں پر جو کچھ ہوا، اس سے تو ہماری سرکار نہیں تھی اور اس دن بابری مسجد توڑ دی گئی۔ اگر اس ملک میں سب سے بڑا آتنک واد کوئی ہوا، تو وہ سب سے پہلا تب ہوا تھا، جب گاندھی جی کو مارا گیا تھا اور دوسرا سب سے بڑا آتنک واد اس ملک میں تب ہوا

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††] Transliteration in Urdu Script.

تھا، جب ۶ دسمبر کو بابری مسجد کو توڑ دیا گیا۔ آج تو ملائم سنگھ یادو جی کی آپ کو تعریف کرنا چاہئے، اتر پردیش سرکار کی آپ کو تعریف کرنی چاہئے۔ جب ملائم سنگھ یادو جی ۳۰ اکتوبر، ۱۹۹۰ء کو وہاں تھے، تب بھی لاکھوں لوگ آئے تھے، لیکن اس وقت بھی انہوں نے بہت کٹھور قدم اٹھایا تھا اور کرپنتھی مارے گئے تھے۔

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Please conclude now.

श्री अबू आसिम आजमी: सर, जब की बार भी जो मंदिर पर कट्टरपंथी हमला करने आए, वे मारे गए। चाहे वे हिंदू कट्टरपंथी हों या मुस्लिम कट्टरपंथी हो, जब वे मारे जाएंगे तभी इस देश में आतंकवाद खत्म होगा। सर, दो मिनट और बोलूंगा। अभी हमारे एक बीजेपी के नेता जी ने कहा था-"Symbol of faith generates sentiments". सेंटीमेंट्स तो हमारे भी हैं, 20 करोड़ लोगों के। बाबरी मस्जिद कैसे तोड़ दी गई और क्यों आतंकवाद बढ़ता जा रहा है देश के अंदर? अभी मुकदमा सुप्रीम कोर्ट में चल रहा है। मैं तो इस हाऊस का एक जिम्मेदार आदमी होने के नाते यह कहूंगा कि अगर बाबरी मस्जिद बगैर किसी कोर्ट के आर्डर के आए तोड़ दी गई हैं, तो वहां मंदिर बना कैसे? आतंकवाद अगर रोकना है और इंसाफ सही करना है, तो वहां मस्जिद बना दो और उसके बाद कोर्ट का फैसला आने दो, फिर जो फैसला होगा, उसको मान लिया जाएगा और तभी इस देश के हिन्दू और मुसलमान साथ-साथ रहेंगे।

شری ابو عاصم اعظمی : سر، اب کی بار بھی جو مندر پر کٹر پنتھی حملہ کرنے آئے، وہ مارے گئے۔ چاہے وہ ہندو کٹر پنتھی ہوں یا مسلم کٹر پنتھی ہوں، جب وہ مارے جائیں گے تبھی اس دیش میں آتنک واد ختم ہوگا۔ سر، دو منٹ اور بولوں گا۔ ابھی ہمارے ایک بی۔جے۔پی۔ کے نیتا جی نے کہا تھا "Symbol of faith generates sentiments" سینٹی مینٹس تو ہمارے بھی ہیں، ۲۰ کروڑ لوگوں کے۔ بابری مسجد کیسے توڑ دی گئی اور کیوں آتنک واد بڑھا جا رہا ہے اس دیش کے اندر؟ ابھی مقدمہ سپریم کورٹ میں چل رہا ہے۔ میں تو اس ہاؤس کا ایک ذمہ دار آدمی ہونے کے ناطے یہ کہوں گا کہ اگر بابری مسجد بغیر کورٹ کے آرڈر کے آئے توڑ دی گئی ہے، تو وہاں مندر بنے کیسے؟ آتنک واد اگر روکنا ہے اور انصاف صحیح کرنا ہے، تو وہاں مسجد بنا دو اور اس کے بعد کورٹ کا فیصلہ آنے دو، پھر جو فیصلہ ہوگا، اس کو مان لیا جائے گا اور تبھی اس دیش کے ہندو اور مسلمان ساتھ ساتھ رہیں گے۔

مسجد بنے کیسے

†[ ] Transliteration in Urdu Script.

श्री रूद्र नारायण पाणि: यह हिन्दू और मुसलमान की बात कहां से आ गई।

श्री अबू आसिम आजमी: बात कहां आ गई? आप ही तो लाते हैं, हम कहां लाते हैं? आप सुनिए, आपके लिए शेर है:

या रब इस मुल्क में ऐसी फिजा बने, मंदिर गिरे तो फिक्र मुसलमान को भी हो।

पामाल होने पाय न मस्जिद की आबरू, यह फिक्र मंदिरों के निगाहेबान को भी हो।

इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर वाकई आतंकवाद को इस देश से खत्म करना है, तो यह कोई हिन्दू मुस्लिम की बात नहीं, पार्टी लाइन की बात नहीं, बल्कि हम सबको मिलकर के इस मुल्क में एक साथ खड़े होकर के इंसाफ की बात करनी होगी। आप देखिए? अगर आज आतंकवाद बढ़ रहा है, तो वह जुल्म और नाइंसाफी की वजह से बढ़ रहा है। इसलिए हमें इस मुल्क में जुल्म और नाइंसाफी को खत्म करके सबके लिए एक तरह का कानून बना देना चाहिए। आपने मेरी बातें सुनी, बहुत-बहुत शुक्रिया।

†[श्री ابو عاصم اعظمی : بات کہاں آ گئی؟ آپ ہی تو لاتے ہیں، ہم کہاں لاتے ہیں؟ آپ سنیے، آپ کے لئے ایک شعر ہے ۔

یارب میرے ملک میں ایسی فضا بنے
مندر گرے تو فکر مسلماں کو بھی ہو
پامال ہونے پائے نہ مسجد کی آبرو
یہ فکر مندروں کے نگہبان کو بھی ہو

اس لئے میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر واقعی آتنک واد کو اس دیش سے ختم کرنا ہے، تو یہ کوئی ہندو مسلم کی بات نہیں ہے، پارٹی لائن کی بات نہیں، بلکہ ہم سب کو مل کر اس دیش میں ایک ساتھ کھڑے ہو کر کے انصاف کی بات کرنی ہوگی۔ آپ دیکھیے، اگر آج آتنک واد بڑھ رہا ہے، تو وہ ظلم اور ناانصافی کی وجہ سے بڑھ رہا ہے اس لئے ہمیں اس ملک میں ظلم اور ناانصافی کو ختم کر کے سب کے لئے ایک طرح کا قانون بنا دینا چاہیے۔

آپ نے میری باتیں سنیں، بہت بہت شکریہ۔

"ختم شد"]†

†[ ] Transliteration in Urdu Script.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN): Now, Shri Sharad Anantrao Joshi. Something short and eloquent.

SHRI SHARAD ANANTRAO JOSHI: I am going to be the last speaker from the floor on this debate, and you have given me that honour. So, I will try to wrap it up in less than 3-4 sentences.

I find, to my great sorrow, that everybody in this House is a kind of advocate of terrorist. There are some people who find themselves culturally and technically incapable of controlling terrorism, and, therefore, they are finding new philosophies to justify that. We have people who are economic terrorists and, therefore, make excuses out of economic injustices. Somebody would quote Iraq in order to kill me here on the road. The one principle that I enunciated earlier is that there is no justification for terrorism. You cannot kill me because your grandmother kept you starving for the whole day. That is the basic principle. No injustice, no hardship can justify terrorism. On this side, we have people who justify economic terrorism, there are people who justify communal terrorism and there is a very thin veneer of secularism, which covers the UPA with a cloak that it is.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Sir, the debate has been very fruitful. Mr. Jaswant Singh initiated the debate. While going, he wrote me a letter that he had to attend some meeting and he would come here to attend the reply tomorrow. Probably, he was under the impression that the reply would be given tomorrow. But, then, I had said that if he had to go, he could go. I shall have to reply today. I did not tell him this thing. But I said that he could go.

He initiated the debate and made some points, which were really very important, those points are going to help us to understand as to why terrorism is there in our country and in other parts of the world. I have absolutely no difficulty in understanding and appreciating the first part of his statement. When he came to the second part, as a leader of the Opposition, he might have thought that, probably, he had to take some objection to some things and complain, probably, and he make some remarks. I am likely to reply to some of the remarks which he has made.

Mr. Shankar Roy Chowdhury is not here. When he started speaking, I was not here. I was in my Chamber, but I was listening to his speech, and I was very keen to understand the points which he was making. I must say that whatever he has said is very relevant to the situation. He

understands the situation, and he understands the manner in which the situation has to be handled. He is not here, but I would like to say, all the points, which he has made, are acceptable to the Government. In fact, on some of the points, we have already started taking action.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

While replying to this debate, Sir, I will seek the indulgence of this House when I give the facts and figures relating to the law and order situation in Jammu and Kashmir, in the North Eastern States and in the States which are affected by the naxalite activities.

The second point I would like to make, in reply is, according to my understanding, why there is terrorism in our country or, maybe, in some parts of the country.

The third point, which I would like to make is, what the policy of the Government of India is. I would also refer the policy followed by the NDA Government. The parties may change, but the Government continues. So, where is the relationship between the two? I may be allowed to say about that also. Then, what else are we trying to do in order to contain the terrorist activities in our country? What is the situation in Jammu and Kashmir, Sir? Let the statistics, the figures speak for themselves. I am not going to burden this House with many facts and figures. I will just give only a few facts and figures. The number of incidents this year has come down by 26 per cent, as compared to the period last year. It has come down by 26 per cent. I am not talking about infiltration. Infiltration has come down by more than 67 per cent. I am not talking about that. I am talking about the number of incidents. It has come down by 26 per cent. Number of civilian casualties has come down by 28 per cent. Number of casulties of security persons has come down by 33 per cent, and the umber of casualties of terrorists has also come down by 6 per cent. Sir, these figures should convince us that the situation in Jammu and Kashmir is improving. We are not saying that it is totally under control. We are not saying that incidents are not taking place in Jammu and Kashmir. Car bombs have been used and people have lost their lives, and some other incidents have also happended there and they have been very widely publicised. The point I am trying to make with respect to Jammu and Kashmir is that the situation has improved, and has improved by these percentages. Now, I will come to North-East.

डा॰ छत्रपाल सिंह लोधा (उड़ीसा): श्री प्रणब मुखर्जी कह रहे हैं कि जम्मू-कश्मीर में इन्फिल्ट्रेशन बढ़ा है, आप कह रहे हैं कि घटा है।

श्री उपसभापति: अब वे बोल रहे हैं, He is making a statement. पार्लियामेन्ट में मिनिस्टर स्टेटमेन्ट दे रहे हैं।

डा॰ छत्रपाल सिंह लोधा: न्यूज़पेपर में श्री प्रणब मुखार्जी की स्टेटमेंट आई है।

श्रीमती सविता शारदा: अखबार में उनकी स्टेटमेंट आई है।

श्री उपसभापति: यह पार्लियामेंट है, आप न्यूज़पेपर के स्टेटमेंट की बात क्यों कर रहे हैं?

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: In think, I am not making a political statement here. If you want to make it a political debate, I will take my seat. I am giving you the statistics. It is for you to accept it or reject it. I am making this statement on the floor of the House and not in the media.

श्री उपसभापति: देखिए, पार्लियामेंट में जब मिनिस्टर स्टेटमेंट देते हैं, तब उसकी भी कुछ रेलेवेन्स होती है, आप अखबार की बात कर रहे हैं। (**व्यवधान**)... आप बैठ जाइए।

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Sir, as far as the North-Eastern States are concerned, Mr. Jaswant Singh spoke about Assam, Nagaland and Manipur. He did not speak about Mizoram, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh. The situation in Mizoram, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh is really very good. The situation in Nagaland is also very good. The situation in Assam is not that good, but, in Assam also, there is some improvement but situation in Manipur has not been good. That is a fact. I am giving the statistics. I will not go into each and every State and give the statistics. I will give the statistics of all these States together. Now, the number of incidents has gone up by two per cent, and why this percentage has gone up by 2 per cent because in Assam, the number of incidents has increased and in Manipur also the number of incidents has gone up. In Assam, the incidents have taken place, but they have taken place at places where human beings were not there, the property was not attacked, the incidents have taken place, but the damage is less. Now, the number of extremists killed has come down by 16 per cent. The number of security forces personnel killed has come down by 49 per cent and the number of civilians killed has come down by 25 per cent. So, here also, Sir, the number of incidents has gone up but the persons killed, the forces killed, the civilians killed have come down by 16 per cent, 49 per cent and 26 per cent. Sir, should we not say that the situation in the North-Eastern States also has

improved on the basis of these statistics? Again, I am saying, it does not mean that nothing is happening there which is causing us some concern. Yes, there are things happening which do cause concern to us, and yet if you take the totality of the situation in the North-Eastern States on the basis of these facts, we have every reason to come to the conclusion that the situation in the North-Eastern States has also improved.

Sir, now I come to the Naxalite States. Now, here also which are the States which are affected by Naxalism? They are Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. These are the States which are affected by Naxal movements, and what is the situation in Naxal movements? In Andhra Pradesh, the number of incidents and number of deaths have gone up. In Andhra Pradesh, last year, the number of incidents was 275. This has gone up, and it has come to 344. There were 72 deaths. It has gone up by 139. The situation in Andhra Pradesh has not improved. Now, the situation in Bihar has improved. The number of incidents last year was 189. This year, it is 112. The number of deaths last year was 86; it has come down to 48. In Chhattisgarh, the situation has improved very well. The number of incidents last year was 230; this year it is 196. The deaths have gone up. The number of incidents has come down, but the deaths have gone up. Last year, the deaths were 41, this year it is 50.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ: Sir, I would like to seek just one clarification. When you say. 'this year', does it mean these seven months?

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Yes; it is the corresponding period.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ: Okay.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Now, the situation in Jharkhand has improved. Last year, the number of incidents was 214; this year, it is 153. The number of deaths last year was 99, this year it is 47. The situation has improved. But in Madhya Pradesh, the situation has deteriorated. Last year, the number of incidents was four, this year it has gone up to 15. The number of deaths last year was only one; this year, it has gone up to two. That is controllable. In Maharahstra, the situation this year has deteriorated. The number of incidents was 44 last year; this year it is 45. The number of deaths last year was seven; this year it is 35. In Orissa, the situation has improved. The number of incidents was 28 last year; it is 26 this year. The number of deaths last year was seven; this year it is one.

SHIR C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: Sir, do these figures pertain to naxalite activities?

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Yes.

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: Sir, I would beg to deffer here. The reply that was given in the morning...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Please, allow me to complete.

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: Sir, I do not mean to disturb you, but...

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL : If you get up like this every time , I would get disturbed . you may write down the question and ask me in the end. I would try to reply the question.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please , allow him to complete. You may seek clarifications afterwards.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL : Now, in Uttar Pradesh, the situation has improved. Last year , the number of incident was 4; this year, it is 3. Now, last year , the number of deaths was 5; this year, it is nil. In West Bengal, the situation has improved . The number of incidents was 4 last year; this year also it is four . The number of deaths last year was eight ; the number of deaths this year is only one.

So, if you take the sum total of these figures of all the States, you come to the conclusion that the number of incidents has gone up, but the number of killings of civilians , the police and the other has come down. So, here also, there is a slight improvement . The improvement in the naxalite-infested States in not as marked as the improvement in Jammu & Kashmir and the Northen-Eastern States. Here again, I would like to say that in Andhra Pradesh , the situation was very good till the time the talks were going on . The movement the talks came to an end, the situation changed. The number of incident increased and also,the number of killing increased. The situation there had changed. Now, this fact has to be borne in mind by us to understand whether talks could be effective or not , and to what extent they could be effective.

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: Sir, the killings were reduced only during the time of talks.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is what the hon. Minister is saying.

SHRI JESUDASU SEELAM (Andhra Pradesh): That is what the hon. Minister is saying.

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: No, Sir. He talked about the extent to which the talks would be effective...(*Interruptions*)... For three months, talks were held... (*Interruption*)... During those three months, there was a declaration that neither the police should kill, nor the naxalites should kill... (*Interruptions*)...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ramachandraiah, we shall take it up later.

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: No, Sir. We are experiencing it.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: I would reply to that question when I conclude my speech. You may write it down and ask me later.

So, Sir, this is the situation. Now, in view of this situation, should we say that the law and order situation has deteriorated? I am not taking the credit for it; I cannot. If the credit has to be given, it has to be given to the people who were actually working on the field—the State Police, the Paramilitary forces and the Army, who were working on the borders—and the policy, which is adopted by the Government of India. I am not saying that this is the policy of UPA Government alone. I have said at the beginning itself that it is a continuation of the policy. If you cannot take the credit for that also, I cannot help it. I am not saying that something very new has been done and things are happening. Probably, we are implementing something new, some new angles have been added to the policy, and yet, the existing policy has been properly implemented and used and the result is this.

Now, in view of these facts, is it correct all the time to go out and say that the situation is deteriorating, that the law and order situation is deteriorating? What is the result of this? The effect of taking this kind of stand is that it is creating terror in the minds of the people. If, together you all say, that this is what is happening, that there is not even an iota of law and order existing in Delhi, in Mumbai, in this city and that, and if you keep on saying that everybody's life and limb and property is in danger, if you are saying that these killings are happening, what is the result of all

this? The ordinary man who is doing his day-to-day activities; who has no mind to apply his mind will say that these leaders are saying this thing, hence it must be correct, and the result is that the terror is created; the fear is created; the fear psychology is generated in the minds of the ordinary citizens of the country. Should we take the share of this responsibility or not? Those who are taking the guns and terrifying the people, certainly they are not. But when we, ourselves, also take this stand and without assessing situation correctly, when we do not know the actual facts, or, when we know the actual facts, but for political reasons, and when we know actual facts to malign others, if we keep on saying this thing, is it correct? Now, I complain against the State Government, the State Government complains against the Central Government, the ruling party complains against the Opposition party, the Opposition party complains against the ruling party, this kind of situation shall not really help us. My request is: we, who are sitting here, can contribute towards maintaining law and order and providing security to the country in the best possible manner by taking correct steps. Don't spare the Ministers, or the Government, or the officers if they commit mistakes. But don't blame them when they cannot be blamed. Don't use your ingenuity just to find negative points and project them in such a fashion that the fear psychosis is generated. That is my request.

Sir, one of the points which has been made is that there is no policy that the Government of India is having or following or implementing in order to contain the terrorist activities in the country. Is this correct? I have not once but many times explained the policy which the Government of India is following. I would today also like to explain what is the policy the Government of India is following. I would request the hon. Members to study that policy of ours and guide us. Correct our mistakes and tell us where the modifications are required, and we will be ready and willing, if convinced, to adopt your suggestions. But don't say that we don't have the policy. If you have not tried to understand what is the policy, that is a different thing. But having understood our policy, if you keep on saying that there is no policy, that is not acceptable, and having understood the policy if you have anything else to suggest, we are open and we will accept your suggestions and incorporate your suggestions in our policy. Today only, Sir, we discussed one of the issues. People may have different views on that issue. Today, in the Qeustion Hour, the first question related

to surrender and rehabilitation. This is a policy; it is a part of Government of India's policy to encourage surrenders and rehabilitate the people who surrender so that they do not go back to the terrorist groups and again continue the terrorism. This is a policy which was enunciated or started by the State Governments, discussed with the Union Government and different State Governments have their policies. This is surrender and rehabilitation policy. Jammu and Kashmir, North-Eastern States, Naxalite States, Andhra Pradesh and all other States have their policies.

They have different policies and we have to accept those. Now, our intention is to see that if anybody has joined the terrorist group because of certain reasons which are not in his control, and if he wants to come back, should we take him back or not in the mainstream of the society. Now, if we don't take him back, he will continue there. Either he will kill otners or he will get killed. Now, this is a small part of the policy we have followed. The second policy we are following is: why are these people joining the terrorist activities? Some people have fundamentalist approach. Some people are unhappy with the economic policies that we are following in our country. Some people think that the democracy cannot produce results; only the strong-arm method can help them, and for analogical reasons, they have joined. It is very difficult to bring them back to the mainfold if they are going with this kind of ideology. And yet, we keep telling them that look, religion should unite and it should not divide. If your religion or my religion is dividing the society, it is not a good religion. The religion should unite the human beings; the religion should unite the human beings with all other creatures; and, the religion should unite human beings and all other creatures with the God. That is religion. But, here, we are saying that civilisations can divide and civilisations will divided. We are saying that my religion is better than your religion, and so, I shall have to fight. Now, this kind of fundamentalism is really responsible for terrorism. We are explaining to them and this is not the real thing. We are explaining to the youngsters that with weapons and with bullets, you will be able to achieve nothing in a country like India. You can rest assure that the 95 per cent of the people in India are peace loving and if they are 95 per cent and if you are less than five per cent, you are not going to overpower them at any time, and the strength of the States, the strength of the Government of India and the strenght of the people in the country is such that your bullets cannot achieve anything at all. And, don't depend on the bullets; depend

on the ballot; depend on the democratic system and you will be able to get all that you want. This is what we are trying to tell them. We are trying to tell them that if there are economic disparities between the provinces, we will like to see that those disparities are not there. If there are economic disparities in the society only between the individuals, we will try to create a situation in which that disparity is reduced and everybody would have whatever he needs for subsistence, existence and things of that nature. Now, this is our policy. So, we want to do economic justice by giving them the surplus agricultural land. We have a policy of giving them the housing sites. We have a policy of giving them the housing sites. We have a policy of providing them the loan from banks. We have a policy of giving more money to each of the districts which is backward so that it can develop the infrastructure required by those people. That is why, we have the schemes and every year, we are giving Rs. 15 crores to each of these districts for the development of the infrastructure in that district and this amount of money is going to be given for three years' time. The Government of India has decided to give them the employment. There is the Employment Guarantee Scheme and the Food-for-Work Scheme. Food for the children in school is provided. Now, these are the schemes which are going to help the needy people in the society so that they don't feel neglected, so that they don't feel that they shall have to take the arms in their hands in order to find some money to help themselves and help their family members. Now, this is part of our policy. Now, people have been saying, "Why are you doing this thing? Why are you not using the guns? Now, if we use guns only and don't care for these things, every man killed in a family will give rise to four or five members of his family who will take arms in their hands and will fight. So, killing is not going to solve the problem. Doing justice is going to solve the problem, and, our policy is of doing justice. On this point, I can go on and on but the time is limited. I cannot do that.

What is the other side of the policy? The other side of the policy is to strengthen the police force. I have told the hon. Members in the House many times that we are helping the States to strengthen their policy force and we are giving them the money. What is the amount of money? We are giving 2,000 crores of rupees every year for modernisation of their forces, for strengthening their forces. Then we are asking them to increase the numbers, give them better training. That is what we are doing. We are giving them the communication facilities. The policy should be able to

contact each other and communicate with each other. We are going to give them and we have already given them better weapons, better protective care, better communication facilities, better transport facilities. Now, these things will strengthen the State policy and they will be able to discharge their duties well. As far as Union police is concerned, we are strengthening our forces also. We are going to raise nearly 200 battalions. We are going to give them armoured vehicles, we are going to give them air cover also, we are going to give them better equipments, better protective care, better communication facilities and better training facilities. This is what is being done to strengthen the Union police. And then wherever it is necessary, specially, in the border areas, when the people are coming from across the other side, we are giving them the Army, the Navy and others also who are protecting. We have a policy of strengthening our coastline. Nearly, 500 crores of rupees are given in first instalment to see that the police stations are construted on the coast and the people who are there are given the boats and equipments for the purpose of protecting the coasts. This is our policy. Mr. Shankar Roy Chowdhury suggested that let there be a unified command. Probably he knows it and probably in his time only, concept of unified command in Jammu and Kashmir was accepted and it is being implemented over there. In Jammu and Kashmir, if there is Army, Para-military forces and the State police, the Army, Para-military forces and the State police are not working disjointedly with each other. They are working under the unified command and that command is chaired by the Chief Minister of that State. So, the idea that he has floated is already accepted, that idea has been accepted in Assam, that idea has been accepted in Manipur also. So you have a system which is required.

Now, Sir, it is suggested that we should stop the infiltration from across the border. In order to stop the infiltration from across the border in the western States, we have fenced ther entire border. I have been saying in this House also, not once but many times, that because of the fencing, the infiltration has come down by more than 67 per cent. It is because of the fence that has been constructed over there. The Army has done that and we should congratulate them for what they have done.

In the eastern sector also, around Bangladesh, we have started consructing the fence. Nearly 4000 kilometres is there, half of the area is already fenced and the rest of the work is likely to be completed by 2006. There also we are putting the fence and stopping the illegal immigration.

Now, they are saying about IMDT Act and all those things. They say why there should be two laws and why there should not be only one law, Foreigners Act, and all that. Yesterday, there was a discussion in the Lok Sabha and we discussed this matter thoroughly. The IMDT Act came into existence in order to protect the genuine citizens of India. When genuine citizens were put in difficulties, because of the proceedings started against them, by the members of the Executive without going to the judiciary, the IMDT Act was created. It is not because of the IMDT Act that the infiltration has increase or it has come down. It is because of many other things that these things are influenced. So, the IMDT Act has no meaning, Sir. Now, how do we stop illegal migration? That is the question. the first thing which we are going to do is to have fencing around the border with Bangladesh. In all areas, the boder is going to be fenced by 2006, and you can take it that the infiltration rate is going to come down as it has happened in Jammu and Kashmir.

Secondly, Sir, we are going to maintain a birth and death register. That birth and death register is going to give us the information who is the citizens of India and who has come from outside.

The third thing which are going to do is to have a multi-purpose identity card given to them. If the multi-purpose identity card is given to them, there would be no difficulty in distinguishing who is the citizens and who is not the citizen.

SHRI JAIRAM RAMESH (Andhra Pradesh): What will be the time-frame, Sir?

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: It can be completed in one or two years. We are in the process.

Now, it was also suggested by Mr. Shankar Roy Cowdhury—I have said it in the beginnig and I would say it again, he knows how the things have to done— each of the battalion of the Border Security Force has to cover nearly 70-80 kilometres of area and it should be reduced to 30 kilometres of area. We are in the process of doing that. We shall have to induct more BSF battallions there and that would also be done. Now, these are the steps, which we are going to take to control illegal migration from across the border in to our territory. But, I have to make a submission and appeal to the House that this issue also should not be politicised.

Now people say that we brought IMDT Act in order to get the votes of minority. It is not a correct thing. We want to protect the interests of the genuine citizens of India. If somebody is giving this colour to this issue in this manner, he himself is trying to create a vote bank for himself, in the name of one religion or the other. That is more correct than alleging anything against the previous Government of the Congress party which brought into existence the IMDT Act.

On POTA, Sir, I remember an anecdote, there were two wives talking to each other and they were praising their husbands. One of the wives said, "Look, my husband is a great sportsperson and when he goes to hunt he carries his gun and when tiger comes he shows his gun to the tiger and the tiger is dead or he goes. He is so brave." The other wife said," Oh, that is nothing. My husband is so brave and so skilful that he carries his licence in his pocket and when the tiger comes, he shows the licence to him and he goes away", This is something like this. They say that the POTA is not there and that is why this has happened. But, I am going to ask the quesiton to those persons, to those political parties, when the POTA was there, why did Gujarat happen? why did Gujarat happen? Law is needed to control, not to trouble the people. And if having brought a law we come to the conclusion that, that law is creating the problem, it is our bounden duty of the legislators either to amend that law or repeal that law. This is exactly what we have done. We had said that look the existing laws were capable of helping in this matter and even if it was necessary, we could amend the existing laws and then we could solve that problem. POTA did not solve any problem. POTA created problems and that is why POTA had become a symbol of discriminaiton against the citizens in India. That is why today it is not on the statute Book. Now let us not shed tears for POTA. The existing laws are there. We would be able to manage it. If anything else is required, if any amendments are carried out. They are saying that it has happened because POTA was not there. In Gujarat, Pota might have been shown to the people who were agitating there, but it did not help. The carnage did take place in Gujarat. We cannot forget it. POTA did not give any help. That law did not give any help. A law by itself is a dead letter if it is not used properly. A law by itself is the most discriminatory and most tyranrical thing if it is not properly used against anyone. Let us not shed tears for POTA. I know very well, before POTA was brought into existence TADA was there. When TADA was there,

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those who spoke for POTA, were opposing TADA. At that time, we were on the Treasury Benches. Then TADA was scrapped. Those who were opposing TADA, brought POTA on the Statute Book. Now POTA is also gone. If anything is necessary in order to provide authority to the forces, authority to those who are responsible for maintaining law and order and protecting others, well we can get that kind of a provision by interpreting the existing laws in a proper manner or amending the existing laws in a proper manner. But let us not unnecessarily go on saying that this has happened because POTA is not there. I have given you the statistics as to what has happened in Jammu and Kashmir, North Eastern States and Andhra Pradesh. Let us not unnecessarily give importance to the existence or non-existence of POTA.

Why is terrorism there? I think terrorism is there because some people feel that justice has not been done to them. As they cannot fight openly, they take the path of guerrilla warfare, they take the path of terrorist activities or they hit the people in the back. So it is necessary for the society as a whole to see that the people do not go with a feeling that justice is not done to them. Only by establishing economic justice, social justice and political justice, we would be reducing the chances of terrorist activities in the country; reducing the chances of somebody taking a gun in his hands and trying to kill someone else when someone else is sleeping or is not facing him.

The second most important thing in India is employment. Our population is increasing. The land cannot be stretched and cannot be given to the people who want to cultivate it. If we do not develop trade, industry, knowledge industry and other things, it will be difficult to sustain the lot of the population on the strength of the land alone. If we go to the economic zone around our country, which is equal to two-third of our land mass, that is altogether a different thing. But employment is one of the problems. If youngsters are educated, and they think that they are in a position to do something, employment should be given to them. Now, I am told, Sir, that various terrorist groups are employing them and giving them Rs. 2,000 or so a month. I am sometimes told that Rs. 20—30 is given to them, and they are willing to go. Now, they are not ideologically motivated, and they are not fundamentalist as well. They also do not have any political acts to commit. Yet, because of the sheer force of circumstances, they are taking

to terrorism. It is our responsibility to see that employment is generated, and that is the Government of India's policy in creating the Employment Guarantee Scheme. The Employment Guarantee Scheme will be criticised left and right by some people. There will be difficulties in it, and there will be some mistakes committed also. Yet, where the Employment Guarantee Scheme or schemes of the nature have been in existence, the terrorist activities are at their lowest ebb. This is also to be understood. Then, there is fundamentalism. Now, religion instead of uniting people, it is dividing us. I am not blaming any one religion for that matter, or, anybody who is adopting that kind of religion. Then, there is some kind of intellectual philosophy, the class of civilisation and thing like that. They are responsible for it. And, I agree with Shri Shankar Roy Chowdhury that one of the antidotes is good governance. If good governance is provided at the grassroots level, at the *taluka* level, at the district level, at the State level and at the Union level, the possibilities of terrorist activities will be reduced. But, at the national level, we are in the process of planning. At the State level, we are in the process of planning and implementation. At the district level and at the lower level, We are actually not in the process of planning. A little bit of planning is also required and implementation of it. And that is the cutting edge of administration. If at that cutting edge of administration, good governance is not good, then,it becomes difficult. That is why Shri Rajiv Gandhi created the Panchayati Raj system. And that system has to be used in such a fashion as to ensure that there is good governance at that level, that in the matter distribution of land, distribution of house-sites, distribution of foodgrains, distribution of kerosene, distribution of subsidies given to them, it has to be done in such a fashion that they don't feel that injustive has been done to them. Supposing the Government of India wants to give a house-site under the Indira Awaas Yojana, and the house-site is given to a person who is related to one of the politicians, then, others feel unhappy. If it is given to one of the relatives of a Government servant, others feel unhappy. If he is deserving, then, nobody will feel unhappy. But if he is not deserving and it is given on that account, then,they feel unhappy. So, good governance is also necessary. And, then,it is also necessary to see that harmony is maintained. What is being done? Now, in fact, this forum is there here, we come and we discuss many important issues, issues which are of international importance, issues which are of national importance, issues which are going to have an impact on the minds, hearts and lives of the people in the country, in the neighbouring

country and also in the world. Here, what is it that we are doing? Are we really trying to understand the problems, trying to suggest solution or are we only inclined to criticise one or the other? Now, if the present Government is there, the past Government is criticised. Or, the Opposition criticises the present Government. Now, if this kind of a thing is done, it is not going to help. If the terrorist activites are taking place,— I am sorry to say; I am sometimes very unhappy to hear what is said on the floor of the House— it is not the terrorists who are criticised. But it is the members of the forces who are criticised. Now the people sitting here—please don't feel that I am trying to offend anybody—criticised the police like anything. But then, when I was sitting here, I felt that six policemen died for saving the lives of the people in Parliament. If they had not been there, the history of India would have been different. We forget that and we criticised not the terrorists; but we criticise the policemen. Policemen should be criticised. Policemen should be punished, if it is necessary, if they have committed mistakes, and we will not commit any error in doing that. But to blacken them or cover them with black colour and saying that all of them are like that is not proper. I know so many people who are dying for the people who are unconnected to them. A man from Kerala dying in Nagaland! I have seen them. They do not have their relatives living there and yet, they are facing bullets there. They are losing their limbs there. And some of them have lost their lives we do not remember them. They too have their fundamental rights. They too have their human rights. They too have their sacrifices in their lives. If we forget their sacrifices, it is going to be very, very difficult. So, on the one hand, while criticising, let us not go to the other extreme. I am not saying that they should not be criticised. I am not saying that the Home Minister should not be criticised.When you criticise, you suggest certain things to us. And if I am wise enough, I will accept your suggestion. If I am not wise enough, I will just pay you back in the same coin and make you keep quiet; I can do that. But I am not doing that. You should criticise, but, at the same time, you also understand the difficulties. What is the populaion of the country? What is the number of policemen who are taking care of all these things? what are the kind of duties that they have to do? They have to do the duties of protecting the borders. They have to see that no terrorist activity takes place here. They have to do all sorts of things. And when everybody is agitated, they have to be there. Sometimes they behave; sometimes they misbehave also. They should not, and whenever they misbehave they can rest assured that action

would be taken against them. But then, that is happening. And that has to be understood. The problem today is that when anything happens, it is taken politically. Now, the political parties would be interested in criticising the Congress Party. If the Congress Party is sitting on the Opposition Benches, then they would criticise the police or the officers, but we will not criticise those people who have come with guns, who have killed people and who have created terror. It is deflecting the attention from the real culprits to the culprits who are not equally responsible, I do not say that they are not responsible. So, that aspect has also to be borne in mind. Until the time we take a correct view of all these things, the situation is going to be bad.

As far as Ayodhya is concerened statements were made by the hon. Member here who I think is from the area and he spoke of certain at that place. I had also gone there. I would like to salute the officers and the men who were responsible for seeing that the terrorist attack did not succeed. I will salute them first. And then I will like to see if there were any mistakes committed. As far as the people inside were concerened it was a very strong structure; they could not enter. Otherwise they could have created problems. But so far as things outside were concerned, we did have discussions with the State Government and the State Government also agreed that if certain things had to be done, it would do them. So we are not doing them in an *ad hoc* manner. We have appointed a committee of experts and the people who are in the business of providing protection to these kinds of structures would make the suggestions and we will strengthen them. I can assure this House that we are taking steps to protect all other places also places of historic importance places of religious importance and leaders also. But you will understand how many religious places are there how many important histrocial places are there and how many important individulas or VIPs are there and at how many places the police can be there or protection can be there. We will leave no stone unturned to provide the best of protection to all the installations and to these personalities. Yet we will keep praying that nothing happpens. Now that is what we will do. If something good happens the credit should go to those people who are actually there in the field. In spite of the fact that some political statements were made by some persons, I do not think that those political statements were as important as the good suggestions made by them. And the hon. Members can rest assured that all the good suggestions made by them will be borne in mind by us and we will,certainly like to act upon them and we would like to do our best.

SHRI A. VIJAYARAGHAVAN (Kerala): Sir, I have just one point to make. Sir in Jammu and Kashmir the killing of three innocent children has created a very bad image of the Government and the country. Naturally a reply should go from the Government when we are discussing this issue.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: Yes, we are very very sorry, Sir that incident has happened and three children have been killed mistakenly. We are very,very happy that the Defence Minister and myself have expressed our views. The Prime Minister has also expressed his views. Mrs.Gandhi has also expressed her views. It is very unfortunate. We could have done anything to help them to bring them back to life, but that is beyound us. In any other manner in whatever fashion if it is possible for the Government to help their kith and kin, we would like to do that. Somebody is likely to go there and take care of it.

डा॰ कुमकुम राय (बिहार): उपसभापति महोदय मैं आपके माध्यम से मंत्री महोदय से केवल इतना चाहती हूं कि अभी बिहार के विषय में आंकड़े प्रस्तुत करते हुए उन्होंने कहा कि पिछले साल के मुकाबले मे इस साल वहां पर नक्सलाइट् हत्यांए कम हुई हैं। मैं आपको बताना चाहती हूं कि नेपाल का जो बार्डर है, वह खुला है और वहां से अवैध आवाजाही तथा तस्करी होती रहती है। अब वह स्थान माओवादी लोगों के लिए छिपने का स्थान हो गया है। इधर के जो नक्सलाइट्स हैं वे वारदात करके छिपने के लिए उधर चले जाते हैं और उधर वारदातें करके इधर छिप जाते हैं। अभी हाल ही में मुजफ्फरपुर जिले में और पूर्वी चम्पारण जिले में माओवादियों और नक्सलियों ने बहुत बड़ी घटना को अंजाम दिया था और उसमें बहुत लोग मारे गये थे। इस प्रकार की वारदातें इससे पहले इस इलाके में नहीं होती थीं और यह इलाका अपेक्षाकृत शांत था, लेकिन अब इस इलाके में इस तरह की वारदातें दिनों बढती चली जा रही हैं। मैं आपसे जानना चाहती हूं कि यह जो नेपाल की तरफ से खुला हुआ बार्डर है क्या आप वहां भी फैंसिग लगाने की बात करेंगे? क्या आप वहां पर जो हमारे बीएसएफ के गाड्र्स हैं, उनको मॉडर्न उपकरण और आर्म्स की ट्रेनिंग देंगे? जो नेपाल से माओवादी वारदात करके इधर आ जाते है। और इधर वारदात करके उधर छिपने के लिए चले जाते हैं क्या इसको रोकने के लिए आप कोई व्यवस्था करेंगे? इसके बारे में मैं आपसे जानना चाहती हूं।

श्री सुरेन्द्र लाठ (उड़ीसा): सर, इसी से रिलेटिड मेरा सवाल है। जब मंत्री महोदय जवाब देंगे तो मेरे प्रश्न का भी इसके साथ उत्तर आ जायेगा। यह जो नक्सलाइट मूवमेंट है, पर्टिकुलर उड़ीसा के बारे में मंत्री जी ने बताया है कि वहां पर यह कम हुआ है और जो फिगर्स दी गई हैं मुझे लगता हैं कि उनमें कहीं न कही गलती हुई है। अभी गत तीन महीनों मे नक्सलवादियों के द्वारा कई इंसीडेंट्स हुए हैं और उनमें काफी लोगों की मौत हुई है, लेकिन जो इन्फोरमेंशसन दी गई है, वह उससे मेल नहीं खाती है। जैसा

कि अभी माननीय सदस्या ने कहा है कि नेपाल से होकर के इधर बिहार, झारखंड और उड़ीसा में नक्सली आ रहे हैं तो इसके बारे मे माननीय मंत्री जी कुछ स्टेप्स लेंगे जो अच्छा रहेगा।

SHRI JAIRAM RAMESH: Sir, I would like to hon. Home Minister to clarify whether he said that at the end of the two-years time everybody living in the North-East will have a multipurpose identity card.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V.PATIL: Sir, the border between Nepal and India cannot be fenced The peole wanting to go to the Nepal don't need any paper from the Nepal Government and the Indian Government and the people wanting to come to India don't need any paper. That is the kind of agreement we have with that country. But it is a fact that the Naxalite Movement has developed on both sides probably more in Nepal than in India and that is causing some concern to us. It is a fact that as the hon. Member said in the field post something happened which had not happened in the past. We have taken note of it and we are going to strengthen our forces over there. Today that border is not protected by the Border Security Force. It is protected by the SSB. That is a new force and exactly, Mr. Shankar Roy Chowdhury knows it. That is a force which was created for performing a different kind of duty. But that duty is not being performed by that force. He also suggested that let that force be better trained let the strength of that force by increased and let that job be done in a proper manner. We have accepted this thing and we would like to strengthen the force that is over there. We would like to give them better equipment, better information and try to see to it that the incidents of the nature which happened in Lakhimpur do not occur. We will strengthen the State police also. These are some of the things.

Border protection is done by the Government of India. There is no doubt about it. But the internal protection or security duty is done by the State police. We would like to strengthen the State police also. About that queston, I do not think it is necessary for me to answer in detail.

About Mr. Jairam Ramesh's question we are very seriously thinking of giving multi-purpose identity cards to all. This project has been considered by us and it requires a lot of money. New concepts are given to us. Some people say," Give them cards which help them to vote," Make multi-purpose cards, this and that. And they are saying that a lot of money would be required and all those things.